JANUARY • • 1941

the Intercollegian

JAN 10 1941

The Christian in a War-Torn World

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EDITORIAL OFFICE
347 Madison Avenue, New York City

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the Wayfarer

★ For our January "Books-of-the-Month" I propose two: *Where Do We Go from Here* by Harold Laski (Viking Press $1.75) for the clarity of its analysis of the social revolution beneath and beyond the R.A.F. and *Luftwaffe*. *The Bible* (last of the Hazen series) by Russell Bowie (Association Press 50c) because in the midst of revolution, destruction and the atomization of humanity, it speaks of solidarity, construction, love.

★ We have become so fearsome of propaganda, it is hard to believe anyone. Especially anyone who writes about Europe. Thus, in reading Laski I found myself checking off the passages I thought had been inserted by the Ministry of Information. Personally, I believe the "M.I." is glad Laski's book is on our counters; it is good propaganda.

★ But also it is more than propaganda; it sets forth some real truths about the underlying causes of war and their removal which we in this country need to understand.

★ If understood, I fear some of those who are shouting loudest for aid to Britain would lose their enthusiasm; post-war Britain, I prophesy, will have small interest in the kind of American "heavy-industry democracy" which now thinks its future stands or falls with Britain.

★ Eight hospitals, four museums or colleges, twenty-four churches—are in the list of "military objectives" hit by bombs in England. Soon the German list will be published, no doubt. Morale isn't broken that way; the unbroken tradition of crumbling cathedrals is carried on in prayer and communion in bare halls next door. But the senseless waste goes on. Let us highly resolve that out of this war we will build a world order in which parliaments and not incendiaries will be decisive.

★ Next largest to the Nobel award is the Bross Prize, this year awarded to Professor Rall of Garrett for *Christianity: an Inquiry into its Nature and Truth*. I hope it may be reviewed next month.

★ On December 3rd George Stewart, for many years Chairman and now Vice-Chairman of the National Council of Student Christian Associations, left New York City for Melbourne, Australia. He will preach at the Presbyterian "Cathedral" for thirteen weeks, and is the first American preacher ever invited to do this.

★ When near Seattle, surely look in on the remodeled Eagleson Hall which now houses the University of Washington YMCA and YWCA; and when you come to New York City get an eyeful (and an earful) of the regally refurnished Earl Hall at Columbia, recently rededicated as the student religious center.

★ Carlisle V. Hibbard, "dean" of student secretaries in the United States, has retired after a notable service at the University of Wisconsin; earlier he had been with the YMCA in Japan and head of YMCA European work during and following World War I.

★ I close with these great lines by G. A. Studdert-Kennedy:

Peace does not mean the end of all
our striving,
Joy does not mean the drying of our
tears;
Peace is the power that comes to souls
arriving
Up to the light where God himself
appears.

Joy is the wine that God is ever pour-
ing
Into the hearts of those who strive
with him,
Light'ning their eyes to visioning and
adoring,
Strength'ning their arms to warfare
glad and grim.

THE WAYFARER

THE INTERCOLLEGIAN

A JOURNAL OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
DEDICATED TO THE CHRISTIAN WORLD COMMUNITY

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Peace Is a Fighting Word

Peace, unfortunately, has become a fighting word. These days one cannot say "peace" without starting an argument or a congressional inquiry. So in launching this special Peace Issue of THE INTERCOLLEGIAN we know we must hurry to say what we really mean by it. Fortunately this is possible, for the action of the N.I.C.C. last September was unmistakably clear:

> It is in following a Christian imperative that the N.I.C.C. works for peace. Really to work for peace means to work for that justice in human relationships essential to peace.
>
> Within our Student Associations there are equally sincere Christians who hold divergent views on the wars now raging and on the ways in which students should meet their responsibilities as Christians and as Americans. There are cases in which the divergence is so deep as to threaten the continuance of full fellowship within our Student Christian Associations. As the relation of America to the world struggle grows more tense, the danger to our spiritual unity as a Movement is increasing.
>
> Unity in spirit is of the very essence of the Christian faith. Without unity we are no longer the Community to which Christ called his followers. We must, therefore, stress as Christian students our oneness across the bounds of our divergencies. We are not to suppress the expression of Christian conviction, but rather to encourage such expression to the full in the setting and in the spirit of the deep common faith that we hold together.
>
> We believe firmly in the cause of peace and are convinced that Christian students of different viewpoints can work together for that cause, strengthening thereby their Christian fellowship as well as world understanding.

Our Unity in Diversity

We believe that this policy is sound, whether for a campus Christian Association or for THE INTERCOLLEGIAN. Therefore, in this and subsequent issues we shall try to be utterly fair to the differing convictions about the intermediate steps essential to peace which are held by our members. We say "intermediate steps" because we are convinced that all of us in this Movement are absolutely united both with regard to our basic presuppositions (God, brotherhood, justice, love—against the background of which war can be seen only as an unspeakable sin) and in regard to our objectives (a world order in which justice, cooperation and creative life are possible).

This degree to which we are united as Christians needs to be underscored; we are leagues ahead of our predecessors in the common ground of our Christian unity. This should give us hope that in the future, providing we hold fast to this enlarging area of common Christian conviction, we may be able to resolve the differences which still separate us. For it is the Christian faith that God is one and that God's truth is one. Holding to that faith and promise, we refuse to be divided, we refuse to hate, we refuse to be cajoled or coerced. From deep Christian conviction our members will follow many courses; we shall respect them. As a Movement we must strive to count our unity above our differences, our Christian mission as transcending all human judgments.

Ballots Are Not Policy

Some of our friends have confused the peace policy of the N.I.C.C. with the ballots on specific questions taken there. The ballots were intended, not to negate or condition these policies, but to indicate the personal opinions in September 1940 of the individual members of the N.I.C.C. on a variety of alternative positions. A careful reading of the N.I.C.C. actions will clarify this point.

WSSF—Big News

The first five college campaigns constitute big news! Agnes Scott comes in with $325 in cash. Randolph-Macon Woman's College pledges $1,200 with more to come. Oberlin pays in $775; Amherst $900; Smith $7,000. Smith's gift—more than $3 per capita based on student enrollment—sets a high mark for giving. Best of all, it is being demonstrated that success in money raising is not dependent in any great measure on imported speakers. Indeed the secret of current successes is no secret at all—wherever there has been a nucleus of informed and convinced students and faculty, careful organization, thorough education of the campus, personal solicitation by an adequate force of workers, the response has been quick and generous. On the basis of the returns already in, we venture to predict that we will be able to secure the $200,000 which our Asiatic and European Committees really need, rather than the $100,000 that we dared to ask for.

Fund literature, in quantity, and speakers if you want them, should be secured at least three weeks *before* your campaign, from the World Student Service Fund, 8 West 40th Street, New York City.

Everybody Pull!

Interventionists, pacifists, and isolationists—all agree on one thing; that students of China and Europe, uprooted from their homes by war, must be helped. Raising the funds in the United States is a unifying factor. Cooperatively raised, and impartially administered, on the basis of need alone, the World Student Service Fund is a peace-preparing enterprise, for it lays a firm foundation for a better peace, and for post-war reconstruction.

The response from the country (as this issue goes to press) is just what is necessary to break down our national task into fair area goals. But estimates obviously are not money! Acceptance of area goals, however, constitutes a big step toward a negotiable check! Through the process of allocated responsibility every individual or group working for the Fund knows more clearly what has to be done, and enters definitely into cooperation with the national workers.

Christian Action: February 16

The Christian community exists unbroken. The Christian community persists in united action. Our central and characteristic action as Christians is prayer. Throughout the world on February 16 Christian students will join in observing the annual Day of Prayer of the World's Student Christian Federation.

This year it is an essential for every Christian Association and Church student group to make this day one of central importance in the winter's program. The third Sunday in February has been for decades the day for expressing the unity which God has entrusted to us.

S.C.M. members and former members in concentration camps and prisoner-of-war camps in Germany, occupied France, Britain and Canada will be counting then—as at no other time—on the spiritual backing of our corporate prayer. Others who will join us that day are serving with the armed forces in China as well as on both sides in Europe. In southern France student refugees from Czecho-Slovakia and many other lands will be standing beside us in the presence of God. Groups in isolated spots of Norway, Lithuania, the Netherlands and occupied France, cut off from all direct communication, nevertheless will be entering with us into the deepest of all human relationships in "the fellowship of the Holy Spirit." And the same will be true of other students still in college in India and China, Japan and Britain, Uruguay and Brazil—and of ten of our own members in prison in this country for their pacifist convictions.

Obviously our human resources are utterly incapable of coping with the evil and destruction confronting us. Nevertheless, God rules still. Within the world's chaos He works to build the enduring structure of His Kingdom. Student relief, Federation literature, correspondence and visitation all play their part in weaving the fabric of this fellowship. Central to all our life and work as members of the Federation is the corporate prayer of our fellowship.

We are free. We have not suffered. God grant that we may consecrate our freedom on February 16 by affirming with our fellow-members throughout this suffering world the unity given to us "in Christ" and our commitment *together* to the service of His Kingdom.

Democracy Begins at Home

Ideally a college campus should be the best of practice grounds for democracy. Indeed, educators are now very much concerned about meeting the challenge of the present crisis with training for democracy. Courses are given to train students in propaganda analysis, public administration, comparative government, and inspiring speakers are scheduled for appearances—with the result that many students leave college with a conception of democracy as either a body of fact or a body of faith, and with little, if any, experience in actual living in a democratic community.

Bound by a community of interest and a common purpose, students and faculty are in an excellent position to explore the possibilities of democracy. But very few colleges recognize in their organization the possibilities for human relationships which democratic processes provide. As a matter of fact, we find students clamoring for more freedom, the faculty for more authority, and the college failing to see itself as an organic community. Differences of kind and degree are emphasized rather than likenesses of purpose; conflict and competition are engendered.

Students bear not a small part of the fault. There is a great deal of shouting about democracy from them, but there is rarely any conception, in areas where student life is under its own power, of the values on which democracy stands—the concepts of public welfare, of individual growth, of community. In student govern-

ment and in extra-curricular activities, the common practices are personal aggrandizement, group hostility, and sacrifice of general welfare to momentary ends; there is much lust for power, much competition, little cooperation; much said about democracy, little done about it.

It is tempting to focus attention on the crisis abroad, to make long-range observations on democracy, and to ignore our own backyard where democracy keeps a painful foothold at best. To learn democracy is to learn love, brotherhood, sacrifice, service, selflessness. These are not learned primarily in lectures or in books, but in *living*. Students cannot in good faith side-step their responsibilities in making colleges real democratic communities. It is time now to learn democracy—and to practice it at home.

CO's and the Law

The Selective Service Act recognizes the position of conscientious objection on the grounds of "religious training and belief." It implies, in effect, that a democratic nation must take account of such conscientious objection, however awkward it may be to do so.

It is of value to compare our own Act with the British National Service Act of 1939, passed when Great Britain declared war. The British Act goes considerably beyond our own in three important particulars:

First, the basis for conscientious objection in Britain is not limited to religious training and belief. It is rather in the *genuine personal conviction* that for oneself military service is wrong. Thus it recognizes the right to conscientious objection to those who are unable to take part in war because they see its futility and its economic waste, or because of humanitarian, ethical and moral convictions which do not stem from religion.

There is reason for thinking that the wise administration of the Act in this country, however, may allow for a liberal interpretation. There is precedent in World War I, when the draft law exempted only members of certain religious sects; but Woodrow Wilson extended exemption to individuals of other denominations and even to those who were opposed to war on grounds other than religious.

Here may be a point where those in our Student Christian Associations who are concerned about the right of conscientious objection may act. When local selective service boards do not sustain claims for exemption of those whose grounds are not clearly religious, such persons can be encouraged to appeal their claim, and an expression of conviction to the appeal board and to the Department of Justice undoubtedly will influence the administration of the law in such cases.

Second, the British Act allows complete exemption for any individual who cannot accept compulsory service of any kind under the state, not merely non-combatant service. There is recognition that the so-called "absolutist" objector to any form of conformity under a military conscription act may in a democratic state be allowed voluntarily to serve society and his country in the way his conscience dictates.

Here again is a point at which those concerned with the right of conscientious objection may do something. Judicial and administrative officials in this country may feel that the Act as it stands allows them to make such an interpretation of it, particularly if there is an informed public opinion which favors this.

Third, the British Act does not require conscientious objectors to register at the outset on the same forms as other draftees, but provides a separate register for C.O.'s which thus does not bring them under the military conscription system. It has been suggested that administrative regulations might be issued by the Selective Service Administration which would make it possible to exempt from the requirement of signing the official registration card those who cannot conscientiously do so, but who will gladly furnish the registering office with their name and address and other means of identification. This would meet in part the situation of those who up to now have felt unable to register.

There are those who feel that Christians concerned about freedom of conscience should strive for repeal of the Selective Service Training Act. That this could be accomplished does not seem to us even remotely possible at the present time. We would urge those who feel thus to throw their weight in the direction of assuring wise administration of the law. If administration of the law in any of the areas to which we have referred reveals it to be inadequate or to involve unfairness in its interpretation, then let us seek amendment of the law.

These Things We Can Do

As students *we can do* the following, unitedly:

1. Think, study, discuss the bases for an order of love and justice in the world.
2. Arouse and educate our fellow students to a sense of their responsibility for world affairs.
3. Understand the common ground of our Christian unity.
4. Understand—with appreciation and an open mind—the position of those from whom we differ.
5. Study the life of Christ; in prayer, worship and discipline try to follow him.
6. Give sacrificially, to all endeavors—such as the World Student Service Fund—which express Christian solidarity.
7. Wherever possible find courses of specific action on which the Movement can unite—whether for community betterment, social legislation or foreign relations.
8. Study and support the world mission of the Church.
9. Stand up for the minorities in our midst.
10. Strengthen civil liberties and open discussion as inherent to the American way in peace or war.

In these terms—this issue of THE INTERCOLLEGIAN is a Peace number.

UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

—Pleasant Dream? or *Present Fact?*

F. ERNEST JOHNSON

THE fellowship that we call the Christian community is severely strained at this moment by a clash between strong convictions, honestly held, concerning the war and America's relation to it. The impact of the controversy is particularly heavy upon Christian students. Many of them have already been conscripted for military training and most of them have felt, perhaps more than their elders, the force of the moral drive against war, which has grown to such great proportions during recent years. I shall try in a few paragraphs to indicate why the Christian fellowship can be broad enough to include both pacifist and non-pacifist Christians.

The test of that fellowship is more than an emotional one: not merely strength of will to love our fellow men is required, but a convincing rationale that will establish some measure of validity in opposing views. The key to it must be found in the nature of the Christian testimony itself. It affirms the supremacy of the law of love, but it also affirms a principle of justice. Hence, the pacifist declaration has an authentic quality and the insistence that moral neutrality is unchristian has also an authentic quality. This does not mean that the difference between the two views can ever be unimportant to one who seriously holds either, but it does mean that each position defines itself by emphasis upon an aspect of Christianity which is of the very essence of the faith.

The pacifist is so convinced that the nature of war precludes any ultimate good that might be imagined to issue from it that he is forced to reject it as a means of redressing even the most grievous wrongs inflicted by governments. There is something about the pacifist's irrevocable "No!" that all Christians are bound to respect because they recognize that in every honestly moral life there are *some* situations in which a proposed course of action must be rejected, emphatically.

The non-pacifist Christian, on the other hand, is burdened by a sense of responsibility for particular outcomes which compels him to take sides in a conflict where immediate moral values seem clearly to be at stake. Not because the State commands him, but because he feels that God commands him, he judges that of two courses of action in which evil lurks, the lesser evil becomes for him a positive good. That he should so decide should be readily understood by the pacifist, who finds himself—perhaps almost against his will—gratified by any sign of victory over aggression in a war in which he cannot himself engage. This is his own soul's testimony to the authentic quality in the non-pacifist's reaction to a morally unequal struggle.

At bottom the two positions are not so contradictory as they appear. For the war-resister is saying, in effect, "The making of war is so frightful that it cannot be good"; and the supporter of a belligerent cause, if a Christian, is saying, "The brutality of the aggressor is so monstrous that I cannot stand by and see it done." Each confronts a moral impossibility due to the priority in emphasis placed on love or on justice as immediate obligations. We may approximate a true comparison by saying that one finds himself obligated in obedience to the law of love to refrain from every violent act and leave the redress of injustice to God; the other finds inescapable the duty to oppose injustice with all his power, leaving the contradiction between such rough justice and absolute love to be resolved "in the heart of God." Both stand within the Christian tradition.

The Christian isolationist who is not a pacifist—who thinks a neutral America can be of more use to the world no matter who wins the war—may be adjudged romantic and impractical; but such a view, sincerely held, does not make a person disloyal to Christianity. The "never-mind-Europe" isolationist, of course, excludes himself from this discussion by the very statement of his case.

If this reasoning is sound, the war need not divide the Christian community. Rather, the Church may remain throughout the war a unique symbol—the one society that maintains an unbroken spiritual bond between nations at war, its altar-fires unquenched by the blood of battle. This is easier to write than to do. It requires imagination and discipline—and the refusal of the Church, *as Church,* to be mobilized. Christians may fight as citizens, but that nation is best served whose churches do not drape their altars with the flag.

And what of the post-war world? It becomes increasingly clear, as the late Lord Lothian came to see and to say so well, that if there is to be peace with justice in the world, nations must renounce their most prized possession—the claim to unlimited national sovereignty. Renunciation of power is not characteristic of humans. It is something that man does not do by "nature" but through "grace," by rising above himself. It is preeminently the province of religion to discipline the souls of men in the surrender of power and privilege. Prudential motives are not strong enough by themselves to curb nationalism and prevent mutual destruction. Only the heat of a universal human fellowship can melt the pride of nations.

Three Views:

I

I AM A PACIFIST

A. J. Muste

MANY of my non-pacifist friends have been expressing themselves vigorously against certain proposals for feeding men, women and children threatened with starvation in countries whose chief misfortune and crime is that they were not strong enough to repel the armed forces of Germany. The opposition to lifting the food blockade is frankly in large measure based on the assumption that in the conflict against Hitlerism, the starving of mothers and babies can be justified as an act of warfare. It is in some sense, I think, a gain to get from non-pacifist Christians this frank recognition of what war means. On the same basis bombing civilian populations and torpedoing passenger vessels in mid-ocean in the winter becomes justifiable, provided you are convinced that your "cause" is "just." There may be some who can bring themselves to advocate and participate in a hunger blockade or civilian bombing in that spirit which led our Savior to pray "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." I do not judge any individual; certainly each must follow God's will as he understands it. But it is idle to pretend that it is actually in that spirit that the masses of men wage war. For me it is blasphemous to assume that God has actually called me to brutalize myself and shut my ears to the cries of mothers weeping over starved or bombed babies in order to win a victory in a war, provided only it is "my" government which wages this war and provided I can convince myself that the objective is "Christian" or "just" and that the "rags" of our "righteousnesses" are some shades less filthy than those of our enemy. That for me is far worse than death; it is abandonment of faith in reason and in a moral order.

I am a pacifist because I believe that any other attitude on the part of Christians is a do-nothing, passive, defeatist and fatalist attitude. We know from costly and bitter experience that failure to face the problems of an exploiting and imperialist economy leads to war; war and the imposed peace that follows what passes for victory in a modern war leads to fascism; the conflict between the interests of fascist and "democratic" imperialisms lead to more war. Yet we profess that just this once more we must, reluctantly, participate in this war and we cajole ourselves into the hope that the result will be a little this side of utter catastrophe, for, alas, God's evident judgments on our past course have forced us to abandon the fantasy that victory in war will bring in "the world fit for heroes to live in!" Surely this is abject passivity. Refusal by Christians to participate would at least be "doing something"; it might indeed have revolutionary consequences.

Christians in the United States could "do" much more if they would. They could call on our nation to admit its share in the responsibility for the world's plight; to renounce war-preparation and war as futile and suicidal; to give up its own vested interests; to spend on the economic rehabilitation of Europe and Asia the billions we now spend for war purposes; to offer to take a full share in setting up some sort of federal world-government. People tell me that "You can't get the United States to make such a proposal." If not, what are we arming for except to defend and extend our own "interests"? And do Christians regard such warfare as "necessary" and "just?" I am told that Hitler would not accept. But why has not some one in all these tragic years made such a proposal of justice and reconciliation, not "appeasement"? Would it not, on this assumption, have been the way to put him finally "on the spot"? People say that Hitler would interpret such a proposal as weakness and thus the triumph of fascism would be made easier. It is casually assumed that this would be a "lesser evil" than that in this hour of supreme tragedy there should be no nation to assume the role of "suffering Servant of Jehovah," daring to risk its existence as a power-state and to make a venture in common-sense and Christian statesmanship! And assume for the sake of the argument, that nothing can be done with Hitler, then it remains that the great problem of statesmanship today is to drive a wedge between Hitler and the German people. One way is to do it by military victory over them; and we know what it got us the last time thus to separate them from their rulers. The other way is to show them that there is another choice than victory behind Hitler or "something worse than Versailles"; that there is a nation which believes this is neither Hitler's world, nor Churchill's, nor Roosevelt's; but the world which for nineteen hundred years has not been able to take its eyes off him whose weapon was a cross and not a sword.

NOTE. The three contributors to this Symposium have not seen the statements of the other two. We think this needs to be said inasmuch as no one writer has had the chance to reply directly to the challenge of an opposing view.—ED.

II

WE SHOULD STAY OUT OF WAR

Fay Bennett

THE people of the United States should repeat to themselves every morning: This country does not need to go to war; no one can invade us; we can do no one any ultimate good by going to war; and we can only do ourselves untold harm.

We should repeat these things and we should believe them because they are true. Then we should oppose the steps which if taken will lead us into war. At the same time, we should face the real issue before us—to make this country one where all people will be free, equal, and secure.

Is this an isolationist or selfish view? I say it is not. Our best contribution to the welfare of the greatest number lies in our remaining at peace. By entering the war we would widen the area of conflict and we would move the clock back in the United States to a military dictatorship with its denial of free speech, free press, free assembly; with its lower standards of living, intolerance, hatred, and regimentation of body, mind, and soul. Already vicious attacks are under way against labor's hard-won gains. Even free speech and assembly have been assailed. This is the road to the very fascism which presumably we would be going to war to overthrow.

I deny that England is fighting our fight and the fight of freedom for the whole world, and that she deserves our total aid. Ever since the last war, England has acted only to save her empire. She used the League of Nations for that purpose. She has never acted on behalf of small nations or freedom of peoples. She set up Czechoslovakia as a buffer state and then deserted her. She has pitted Arab against Jew in Palestine to bolster her own control. She continues to oppress India's millions and in recent years has even bombed Indian towns. And now, while England proclaims the fight for "democracy," 3,000 democracy-seeking Indians, including their leader, Nehru, languish in jails. Britain permitted Mussolini's thrust into Ethiopia, lest successful Ethiopian resistance inspire unrest in Britain's own African colonies. Britain permitted Loyalist Spain to fall.

But, one might say, England has turned her back on her past mistakes and has come at last to grips with fascism. Therefore we should aid her at risk of war for ourselves. I don't believe it. At last England felt her empire threatened by a newer and more aggressive imperialism and has taken up the military fight to preserve that empire—not to overthrow fascism as a policy of internal government.

This is not to deny that the democratic English people deserve our full sympathy in their desperate situation. But we must not be trapped into believing that the British Isles are the last line of defense for democracy. There is no assurance that British democracy can survive either victory or defeat, so destructive is the character of war itself. Nor will a possible Hitler victory mean extinguishing the light of freedom for all mankind. Signs of popular revolt against the Nazis are appearing already.

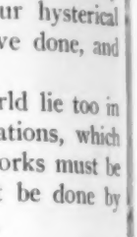
The Hitler system, or fascism, is a potential threat wherever there is unemployment, discrimination against certain peoples, suppression of minority thought. These things exist in the United States. We must overcome them if we are to fight successfully for real democracy against fascism. Our entry into the war would only aggravate these problems at home, as our hysterical "defense" and "unity" drives already have done, and hasten fascism here.

Europe's hope and the hope of the world lie too in conquering these internal problems of nations, which turn man against man. Hitler and his works must be repudiated by his own people. It cannot be done by mass extermination of the German people.

III

WE MUST AID BRITAIN

Henry P. Van Dusen



EACH of us approaches the question of America's relation to the world conflicts from a three-fold perspective. First, as an American citizen, knowing that his government's policy in so vital a matter as war and peace will be determined finally by self-interest. Second, as a citizen of the world, believing in a Moral Order, concerned for the welfare of all peoples and committed to the realization of a World Order based on justice. Third, as a Christian, viewing all men as brothers, convinced of the unique importance of the Christian World Movement, but also bringing to the issues of the conflicts the Christian ideal of peace and the Christian judgment upon war.

1. Nothing is more needed than that every American should undertake an exercise of disciplined imagination to visualize, without hysteria and with fidelity to truth, the precise situation in which the United States will find itself if Great Britain falls. Six months after British capitulation, the United States will be confronted by more than two-thirds of the geographical surface of the earth, inhabited by over three-fourths of its population, containing unlimited resources of every important material including virtual monopolies

of two vital products (rubber and tin), serviced by four-fifths of the merchant shipping of the world, commanding five-sixths of the shipyards of the world, implemented by two-thirds to three-fourths of the naval forces of the world—all knit into one vast totalitarian structure, holding as its single purpose the economic conquest and if necessary the political or military conquest of its only remaining rival. Every American citizen, every national facility and resource, will come under absolute government command and be directed in frantic struggle to keep the domestic economy functioning and to maintain military establishments adequate for minimum protection.

We hear much of the threat to civil liberties, the drift toward totalitarianism in the event of American involvement in war. Face to face with the world which will follow British defeat, I believe there is not even a fighting chance of evading American totalitarianism; only a *fighting* chance of preserving American independence, with the outcome problematical.

2. Let us be quite clear. China, Great Britain and her allies are fighting solely for their own existence. It is fact, however, that the basic welfare of peoples for whom they are not deliberately fighting is absolutely involved in the success of their struggle—the peoples of Norway and Denmark and Poland and Belgium and Holland and Czechoslovakia and France, of Korea and Malayia and the Philippines and Indo-China, of Greece and Rumania and Bulgaria and Jugoslavia and Turkey and Egypt, of North and East and South and West and Central Africa, of the Near East and the Middle East and India. *On the outcome of the conflicts in Europe and Asia hang the conditions of existence—of the possibility of even a modicum of liberty, of justice, of self-determination, of self-government, of self-directed advance, of free and friendly relations with other nations—or not less than a billion men, women and children; and their children's children.* Victory for China and the Allies will not guarantee freedom, democracy, advance for all of them. Defeat for China and the Allies will destroy that possibility.

3. Within six months to a year of British capitulation, the western hemisphere, possibly the North American continent, will be the last considerable area on the earth's surface where:

men and women will be permitted to gather for worship without police surveillance;

the most elemental spiritual truths of Christian faith can be preached without imminent threat of concentration camp;

it will be permissible to pray for all nations and peoples, especially the needy and oppressed;

it will be legal to declare one's belief in all mankind as brothers under the Fatherhood of one God.

Christianity will not perish from the earth. No earlier tyranny or persecution has succeeded in extirpating it. Nor will this one, despite its more powerful weapons and more ruthless ingenuity. But, *if we propose to be loyal to truth,* we must face the probability that, should the Axis designs prevail, Christian faith and life which Americans regard as authentic will cease to function as a living factor in the public life of three-fourths of what we call "the Christian world."

These terse phrases hardly begin to suggest "what is at stake" for all mankind in the outcome of the world conflicts.

—Yes

IN THESE PAGES we are dealing with "hot issues" on which Christians are in sharp disagreement. We invite your reactions. If a considerable number of you respond, we will be achieving our double purpose of learning the convictions of our readers on these controversial questions—and of making our Correspondence Page a lively forum where may be heard the opposing views that exist within our Movement. Letters of two hundred words stand the best chance of being printed—but don't let the suggestion of extreme brevity cramp your style. We *want to know what you think.*—The Editors.

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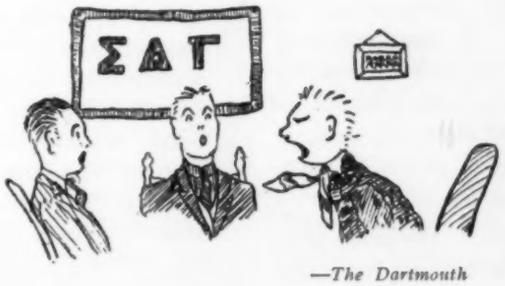

"Get this: I'm entirely objective about this question. I'm not excited. I never get excited. If there is to be a real peace we gotta . . . ad lib"

—The Dartmouth

Pacifism Redefined

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ALLAN A. HUNTER

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THE conscientious peace-maker does not accept the following three propositions: God will perish if a certain navy is sunk. The crisis is so desperate *this time* that only Mars can be our saviour: war-force alone will check the evil. The evil is *out there,* not in here.

The conscientious peace-maker, on the contrary, knows that evil is in us. Hitler is our baby. We produced him. We can't dodge the responsibility by frantically crusading to crush him or anybody else. The Kingdom of God does not need "the world's most colossal sin" to defend it. We are defeatists the moment we fall back on war force. But we do not have to acquiesce before evil thus tamely. We can act on the faith that spoke through Jesus, "No one can tear anything out of the Father's hands."

Such a reliance on reality, rather than on the biggest battalions, gives a new orientation. The conscientious peace-maker does not love his enemies so that they will be nice to him. He loves his enemies because God does. They may respond in kind. The Cross suggests that sometimes they may not. His God is not what Aeschylus described as man's most popular God—Success. His allegiance, rather, is to what Kagawa calls the "Effort of Cosmic Will that would lift all and save all."

The consequences, in the short run, will not necessarily be pleasant. In the long run, however, he expects more from a method that fits in with "love, joy and peace" than he does from a method that murders, lies and hates. The end does not justify the means. It is more likely that the means dictate the end. In 1914-18 my generation meant well. We told ourselves we were saving democracy. We cut out the appendix labelled "The Kaiser," using surgical instruments, as Gerald Heard says, that were covered with tetanus germs. Today we have no right to be shocked because we see the patient breaking out with lock-jaw, with totalitarianism. No matter how holy the motive may be, the desire to stop Hitlerism with more tetanus germs is sentimental. Good intentions will not sterilize the war method. There is something worse than the war method. But that is no proof that the war method will check that "something worse." It may only multiply it. Suppression of civil liberties cannot drive out the suppression of civil liberties. Ego, whether of group or individual, cannot cast out ego.

What Students Can Do

Yes, yes, but what can a student do? The most practical thing he can do is at the very first to get his major premises straight. He need not be gullible. He need not believe that being a coward or training to be a killer are the only choices possible. There is a least one other choice: he can turn from making war the centre of reference. He can shift his attention and begin to aim his *whole life toward the love of God.* The love of God is no abstraction. It is terribly concrete, requiring self-discipline far more drastic than "the intrepidity, contempt for comfort, surrender of private interest, obedience to command" exacted from soldiers. Since his conscience will not be trustworthy if it evades facts, he will study positive proposals and ways of thinking such as those offered by the American Friends Service Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Is It Any Use?

But joining a Quaker work camp will not solve all the problems. One will still be implicated in the evil to which one is objecting. The point is, the degree of implication can be reduced. It need not be one hundred per cent or even fifty per cent. By doing alternative service under civilian control one's involvement in war pressure can be reduced say to twenty per cent even if an army marches down the road one has helped to build. Every day by his attitude, every hour by his reverence for truth and conscience wherever encountered, the student can root out of his life the group inertia and imperialism, the panic and denial of spiritual forces that make war possible. Even if he goes to jail affirming his confidence in the superiority of the Christian alternative, he need not fear he is betraying his country. If the war machine in the right hands could save the country and he refused to cooperate with the war machine, he might be "a moral parasite;" the bread brought to his dungeon by soldiers risking their lives that he might live would be too bitter to swallow. But the war machine, no matter who is trying to manipulate it, is only an obstruction to goodness. And this relevant fact he does not forget. What his country needs probably more than anything else is men in it who serve with as complete integrity as they can achieve, men who say as early Christians confidently said, "We obey God rather than you." It is conscience

(*Turn to page* 60)

American Students Have Been Misled

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JOHN C. BENNETT

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I BELIEVE that American Christian students have an important stake in the results of this war. It will make a vast difference to their lives and to all the causes that have engaged their loyalty if the Axis powers cannot be defeated. Probably most of them do not believe that. Their minds have been prepared not to believe it by what they have been taught. They have been told that pacifism is of the essence of Christianity. They have been told that Christians made a mistake in supporting the last war and that this war in large part is the result of the way in which the nations that won the last war used their victory. They have been told that our democratic civilization is so unjust, so imperialistic, and so corrupt that they have drawn the conclusion that the tyranny of the Nazis cannot be much worse. Even if it were a little worse, democratic nations, as they have been told, will lose what democracy they have in fighting for it. Why should they not rebel when some of their religious guides now tell them that it is right that they should be conscripted with the possibility that they may be called upon to fight for a civilization in which they have been taught not to believe overmuch, with weapons that, as they have been taught, can defend nothing good, in defiance of the only interpretation of the Christian faith which has ever won their minds?

Where the Burden of Proof Lies

Though I believe that the judgment of pacifist Christian students about this war is wrong, I am not sorry that we have had these years of disillusionment concerning war. I still believe that many of the things that have been said in our circles about the last war and its consequences have been right. I doubt if a German victory in that war would have given us as sick a world as we now have in 1940. Certainly the peace of Versailles and the policies of the victors in the nineteen twenties are largely responsible for our present tragedy. To forget that is to lose the chance to learn from history. Moreover, in Christian circles it is the person who believes that the occasion calls for military force who is on the defensive. I am on the defensive in writing in the *Intercollegian,* and not the pacifist. That is as it should be. It is a desirable result of the peace movements of the past twenty years that the burden of proof in Christian circles will henceforth be on the non-pacifist and not on the pacifist. That is to change the habits of history in a very important way. The sincere conviction of many of us that modern war had reached the stage in which it is so catastrophically evil that all are losers and that therefore it makes little difference who wins was probably right in view of all the facts available a few years ago and in view of all the eventualities that could then be imagined. When that conviction crystallized we simply could not imagine such a prospect as that of Nazi tyranny overrunning the earth. I believe that Lewis Mumford does not exaggerate when he says that the decade between 1930 and 1940 is the equivalent of a thousand years. Those of us who made up our minds during that and the previous decade could not realize the full meaning of what was happening. And so I say that we must not now recant all that we have said about war, but only some of the absolute claims that we have made for our predictions concerning the possibilities of evil in the world. We thought that we had seen the worst possible evil—the last war, and now we have lived to see a worse—the new tyranny made possible by the combination of technological efficiency and an utterly ruthless will.

Now I shall deal briefly with several of the convictions which have ruled the minds of many of us and which must be reconsidered in our situation.. I shall state each in the form of a denial of it.

False Equation

1. *Christianity is not pacifism.* Many Christians are pacifists and in view of all the complexities which we must face in our moral judgments it is natural that some Christians should isolate the violence of war as the worst of all possible evils. It is natural, also, that some Christians should be so deeply impressed by the persuasive power of love on the plane of history that they conclude that there must be always a non-violent strategy by which every power of evil can be overcome. I shall go further and say that it is a good thing that some Christians take this position and concentrate upon the resources for overcoming evil that are present in such a strategy.

On the other hand, the identification of Christianity with pacifism fails to do justice to the responsibility that Christian love lays upon us to take what steps can be taken to limit or restrain some kinds of evil. The tyranny of the Nazis is so efficient and so pervasive in its effects upon the whole of life that, if checked

by force, it is open to the Christian to believe that the choice of violence is a better choice than the choice of surrender. The very nature of these totalitarian societies makes it impossible to bring moral persuasion to bear on the people within them, for they live behind a wall of censorship which distorts the meaning of everything said and done outside the wall. The pacifist often combines his pacifism with a view of human nature as so good that men can easily be persuaded by ideals if properly presented. But this is not a Christian conception at all but merely a prejudice of the modern mind that has been undercut by events. It is the Christian view that there is a degree of sin and tragedy in human life which makes it necessary for us to choose between what seem to be intolerable evils. I know how dangerous that idea is for it seems to be an invitation to yield to evil in a fatalistic spirit. But it should lead us to choose the lesser evil instead of deceiving ourselves that some third choice exists. In following what we think to be that third or ideal choice we may in fact encourage the greater evil. Many pacifists admit that this predicament does confront the nation and that the pacifist has no self-sufficient strategy which the statesman responsible for public policy can adopt and they believe that the pacifist should concentrate upon his own special tasks without attempting to obstruct the national policy. (See, for example, C. J. Cadoux: *Christian Pacifism Reexamined.*)

There Is a Difference

2. *There is, for practical purposes, an absolute difference between an open and a closed society.* The Contrast between the democracies with all their faults and the Axis powers is profound. By an open society I mean a society that permits criticism of itself, that encourages minorities, that gives freedom to the institutions which point to the truth by which the society itself is to be judged. By a closed society, I mean a society that denies all such freedom. Our democracies, America and Britain, the submerged democracies of Scandinavia and the low countries, and China in its recent development have achieved what I have called an open society. The idea that capitalism has actually smothered democracy in that sense is a lie. We know that in many respects capitalism has corrupted democracy and kept it from its own fulfillment but there still remains that openness of which I speak which stands in sharpest contrast with totalitarian tyranny. Where there is that openness, society can correct itself by peaceful methods. Where it is lacking, correction can come only by revolution. (This raises a problem for the pacifist.)

Let me illustrate. You may say that we have in our record serious cases of the miscarriage of justice. The Mooney case might be an illustration. That shows, we are often told, that we have only class justice in our democracies. But what is to be said of the fact that for twenty years there was in this country agitation over that case with representatives of all classes taking part? The imprisonment of one man on unconvincing evidence kept a nation stirred up until he was released. Compare that with what happens to a person in a Nazi concentration camp. Perhaps the word will go out that he was shot while trying to escape. There is no discussion of the matter; the person does not count. Some one has pointed out that at one time the whole world was more stirred up over the Dreyfus case, over one man's unjust punishment, than it is troubled today by the fate of millions who are persecuted. That is an indication of what will be lost in the world if what I have called a "closed society" covers the earth.

Democracy in Peril

3. *Democracy may be lost by fighting for it but it is more surely lost by surrender to those who will use military power to destroy it.* An English friend who has until recently been critical of the British for fighting an imperialistic war was converted to the idea that this war cannot be classified in that way by this consideration: "A British Vichy is about the worst thing that can happen." Ambassador Kennedy says that British democracy is dead but it is difficult not to suspect that he identified democracy with the freedom of the business man and one may even suspect that he fears that British labor will be in a position to change the pattern that he associated with democracy. Perhaps he did not notice that recently the British government and the leaders of the Churches joined in rebuking the employers of England for discriminating against conscientous objectors. That would seem to indicate an extraordinary devotion to freedom even under the pressure of the war. At present there is good reason to believe that Britain is working its way to a much sounder democracy. I can only ask how different that prospect is from the "British Vichy" that might come if Britain were to follow the advice of American pacifists.

There is no space to discuss the implications of all that I have said for our own policy and for the choices which American Christians should make. Personally, I believe that the American government should give all aid possible to the beleaguered democracies in Europe and Asia without committing America to unlimited responsibility for the policing of Europe and Asia. That would mean an extension of our present policy rather than participation in the war. Governments and nations have more complex responsibilities than individuals and what is wise policy for them may seem inconsistent to those who think only in terms of what the individual should do. Whatever we decide to do as a matter of national policy, we should begin in our own minds to be fair to the people who are struggling against the Axis powers; we should realize that the kind of Christian pacifism that has become confused with American isolationism is unchristian and irresponsible; we should discard all the slogans—such as "imperialist war"—that were coined in another period and which hide from us the facts, even if that other period be as recent as the days before it seemed possible that totalitarian tyranny might extend itself by military conquest over the whole of Europe.

Stop Hitler *Now and Here!*

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MARY W. HILLYER

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Town-Meeting-of-the-Air Broadcasting

"BLITZKRIEG! Coventryize! Greek Advance!" scream the morning headlines. It is only with a magnifying glass that one can find the important accounts of activities in these United States.

Long ago William Shakespeare wrote words of great insight for his Henry IV to say, as he lay on his deathbed admonishing his son:

> "I . . . had a purpose now
> To lead out many to the Holy Land,
> Lest rest and lying still might make them look
> Too near unto my state. Therefore, my Harry,
> Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
> With foreign quarrels. . . ."

It may not be purposeful, this noisy concentration in press and radio on foreign news, but the result is definitely to "busy giddy minds" with affairs across the seas to the exclusion of concern for perennial problems at home.

When there is a story on home problems it seems always to be angled from the conservative or even the reactionary point of view. We learn to our amazement that the terms CIO and Communist are synonymous—to the uniformed. We read stories of the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers and are not surprised to learn that in this great national emergency they are afraid that "Labor" will not give all. Further, no longer are we astonished when the president of a great University reminds his faculty that freedom of speech is not an absolute in times of stress.

It is essential that we go back to the unshakable truths upon which our country was founded and for which we fought our revolution. If we shelve now the great freedoms that are the foundation of our democracy—freedom of speech, of assembly, of press and the right to worship as the individual deems best, we are nurturing seeds of fascism that have already been sown in the United States.

Our Own Backyard

Remember that fascism was indigenous in Italy and Germany—it was no imported ideology. It took root and flourished in those countries because economic disintegration and decay had prepared the home soil and because the mass of the people were unemployed and underfed.

In the United States today, despite the upward swing of the defense program, there are still between eight and nine million unemployed. A third of our people are inadequately housed, under-nourished and improperly clothed. We are racially intolerant and it is a dangerous sign. In the south you vote if you can pay the poll tax. It is under conditions like these that fascism flourishes. They are red lights to democracy.

Don't be "giddy minded" and congratulate yourself and your campus because you have not got into the headlines like the University of Michigan, for instance. Probe more deeply and see if there are anti-democratic tendencies developing *right at home.*

Take the case of David Carliner, editor of the University of Virginia *Spectator* for 1940-41. Last summer in Charlottesville he was arrested for distributing handbills—this despite the clear ruling of the Supreme court. Immediately Mr. Carliner was ruled ineligible to return to the university for his last year at Law School. This action was "a routine matter." Two years earlier on this same campus the *Spectator* was banned. Who is defending civil rights at the U of V?

Let's go off campus to your home town. The President of the Birth Control League was invited to speak at a church in a New England industrial town. A few days before the meeting was to be held one of the officers of the church was threatened with a run on the town banks if the meeting was held. With some shame but with complete finality the invitation was revoked. Then a civic organization offered its hall and again the same tactics were used and the invitation withdrawn. But the meeting was held in the CIO hall at the invitation of the CIO!

Then there is a campaign story in a midwest home town. Norman Thomas was to speak in this college community. The hall had been secured and all arrangements made when the Legion decided, as it frequently does, to be a self-appointed censor. It allowed that Mr. Thomas was a dangerous radical and unfit to speak to the citizens. All halls refused to hold the meeting . . . until the president of the college invited the Legionnaire to his office, quizzed him on the Bill of Rights, learned that he was unfamiliar with it and after the interview informed the press that the meeting with Norman Thomas as speaker would be held in the college auditorum. Net result—good publicity for the Bill of Rights and Norman Thomas, an overflow meeting and a smudge on the escutcheon of the Legion.

Stories like these could be told far into the night

Knobnoster Photo

. . . and so thru the night.

but it is more important for you to quiz yourself and your own campus. Is there a tendency for strict, unfair censorship of college publications? What is the fate of peace groups on your campus? What is the attitude of campus and draft boards toward sincere conscientious objectors? Are conditions for workers on campus and in town in accord with the Wages and Hours Bill? Are worker-employer relationships in accord with the Wagner Labor Relations Bill, or do you have a Henry Ford about?

Naturally, all of these problems have a relation to the international scene. But we must be realistic and understand that until we have put our own house in order and insulated ourselves safely from the inroads of fascism here we cannot with impunity take over the dismaying problems of the world.

Of course we hope that Britain will win, but in our zest for British victory we must understand that Britain is still an imperialist nation ruling a great many millions of colonials who never asked for British domination. English democracy at home has not been exported conspicuously to British colonies. As this is written, the Battle of Britain is being fought, not only in beleaguered England but also on the sands of Egypt.

If the college generation of today is to have any hope of a world of peace and security there must be total defeat of the totalitarian powers, black, brown and red. And there must arise in the world a commonwealth of democratic nations whose concern will be not power politics and domination by the "great powers" but a common concern for the good of all.

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"Religion is a passion for righteousness, and for the spread of righteousness, conceived as a cosmic demand." —*Professor William E. Hocking.*

PACIFISM REDEFINED

(*From page* 56)

like that rather than mechanized units that defend what is most precious in a nation.

It is possible that students reading this will none of them have to go to jail or face a firing squad. But that is not the issue. The issue is: Shall we begin training now so that we can attack evil at its root with nonviolent and ultimately effective means? The religious stand is anything but fanatical or negative. It implies a direction of life "and intermission none." There is no blue print for Utopia. Like the Seeing Eye dog you are not given a prescription in advance for every car that unexpectedly backs out of an alley. You have certain general principles: if you venture toward your objective keeping them always in mind, the necessary inventive power will come. Here are some:

Because God exists and we are his children we will break the habit of trying to overcome one another with arms—as fast as we can. Meanwhile the United States should urge disarmament by international agreement and starve all war machines, including her own. There is a better method for getting justice than gassing children and conscripting youth. We can personally say Yes to Christ's method.

We can start where we are to work toward a cooperative social order, to replace the present anarchy of irresponsible nations, so that raw materials will be shared on an equitable basis and so that markets may be made accessible to all. We will work for peace based on justice with methods that promote justice instead of contradicting it. We will do what we can to get food over to those who otherwise may starve. We need not play the part of Dives while Lazarus goes unfed.

The invader that deserves more attention is under our very nose—poverty and disbelief. Let us prepare to deal with the invader Despair right here within our borders.

Hitler is not likely to arrive, but as a last resort, just in case, let us train to meet possible invaders with nonviolent weapons. Gandhi's satyagrahis in South Africa and India, with few exceptions, never gave in to hatred, and violence was considered a betrayal of their cause. Such a technique or a better one along more Christian lines if we can invent it, might not stop oncoming tanks. But it would help to stop evil, certainly in our own hearts. "If one person achieves the highest kind of love," says Gandhi, "it will be sufficient to neutralize the hate of millions." In that effort one may die, but it will be without killing and it will be in the right direction.

I know of a man in Germany who is neutralizing hate. He has not yet said *Heil Hitler*. He simply practises the presence of God—the same yesterday, today and forever. "What do you do about evil?" he was asked. "The evil man is in darkness," he replied. "When I find my house dark do I drive the darkness out with brooms and sticks? No, I light a candle."

That is the Christian initiative.

We Must *Wage Peace*

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ROY J. McCORKEL

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WAR is, among other things, *action*. Fighting planes dropping bombs; submarines torpedoing ships; troops moving; anti-aircraft guns firing away; big fires getting out of control; munition factories rushing to complete orders; ambulance units working night and day; women substituting for men in industry; other women knitting sweaters and socks—the entire life and resources of a nation geared to support the war effort. Action characterizes war.

Paradoxically, peace is, among other things, inaction. Modern peace, unfortunately, has been much like the peace of a stagnant pool. It has been the peace of idle factories, the peace of unemployed millions of men and women in many countries of the world. It has been the peace of idle money, the peace of complacency, the peace of death.

We often think of *making* war, and of *keeping* peace, whereas we must learn to think of *making* peace. Peace does not have to be synonomous with inaction. It ought to be even more of a symbol of *action* than war. The New Testament says, *"Blessed are the Peace makers."*

The human race has been waging war for a long time and it has developed a set of action patterns to govern the preparation of and the conduct of wars. We mobilize men, discipline them, teach them to handle the weapons of war, and in general follow an established set of rules.

Need to Study Peace

But we are not so adept at making peace. We haven't specialized in it so much. We haven't spent as much money on it, specifically; we haven't developed a well established action pattern related to the waging of peace. Excellent beginnings have been made, but we are still in the experimental stages.

The Quakers started to wage peace in a streamlined way during the first World War. On and off the campus they have continued to act for peace ever since. They helped in the reconstruction of Europe following 1918. They fed children in Germany at that time. More recently they have acted in behalf of refugees in Europe, and have rendered special helps to them on their arrival in this country. They have even asked for volunteers for peace, and have gotten them from our colleges. They have had work camps in the summer, designed to give young men and women a chance to express in action their deepest Christian convictions in needy places. Just now they are waging peace in a number of centers in this country and abroad. Their pattern of action has pointed the way to make peace.

Students—like other people—have found themselves too often in a common predicament—either they were acting in war or in preparation for war (national defense is the same thing), or they have found themselves doing nothing for peace. Such a predicament leads to grave moral problems as well as to religious and psychological maladjustments.

Fortunately, many people on and off the campus are aware of this dilemma, and following the lead of the Quakers and others, are trying honestly to discover concrete ways of making peace. The time seems to be ripe now for a great extension of the excellent work that has been done and college students can now prepare for the waging of peace, on many different fronts, and in at least four distinct ways.

Ways to Peace

Alongside the R.O.T.C. program on campus, we can *volunteer to serve on work projects* of a constructive nature, either on or off the campus. Students at Colgate are doing this. They have volunteered to give specified hours of time each week to one of two projects that are under way. One group of students and professors is doing the manual labor on a playground for the children of the community. Another volunteer group cuts firewood, which then is given to nearby country churches. One-fourth of the students at Vassar have volunteered for various types of community service in Poughkeepsie. Students on other campuses are helping refugees get adjusted to life in a new world.

Geneva Conference

"We are not so adept at making peace . . ."

American Friends Committee

At summer work camps, playgrounds from cement bags grow.

The possibilities are unlimited. Many agencies with limited resources are doing excellent work in local communities. They would welcome volunteer help which the college community could supply. Students would have their theories tested on such projects, discover that many of these projects are excellent supplements to the curriculum, see the need for voluntary discipline, for spiritual resources, and, incidentally, get training which will be of great help in the days of reconstruction that inevitably must follow the present wars.

In the second place, we need a great *extension of summer work projects*. The Church of the Brethren, the Congregationalists, the Methodists, etc., are following the lead of the Quakers along this line; but with the exercise of faith and imagination, a great many volunteers could be used to act for peace, social justice, and the strengthening of democracy in this country during the summer vacation period. It may well be that your own campus Christian group could see work that needs greatly to be done in your immediate area, and that you could ask for local volunteers to give themselves next summer to the task of Christian reconstruction. We need hundreds of local projects having to do with community health, clearing of forests, music education and appreciation, adult education, social service, slum clearance, cooperatives, labor unions, recreation, Y.M.s and Y.W.s, churches, etc. The sky is the limit if we are aware of crying needs, and have the will to try to meet them.

Paralleling the year of compulsory military service that is now the law of the land, *we need young men and women* from the colleges and universities *to volunteer for a year of service* for peace that will benefit in a practical way the community at large. The Quakers have established a year-round project of this kind at Cooperstown, N. Y. They are planning others. A year of voluntary service for peace and community welfare will emphasize discipline from within rather than discipline enforced from without. By all means, women should have equal opportunity with men for service of this kind. College men and women should keep in mind the possibility of preparation now for volunteer service abroad in the coming period of post-war reconstruction.

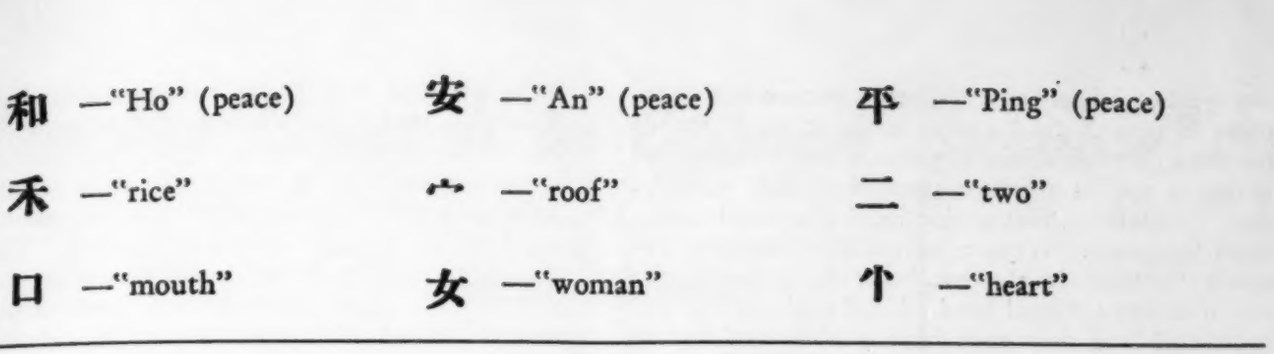
The army and navy has its career men, professional leaders of our armed forces, men who give their lives to the service; so, under Christian auspices we need an extension of plans so that more students will think of serving the cause of Christ, the cause of peace and justice, with their whole lives. We need volunteers for life time service . . . at home and abroad. The mission boards have made this possible for many in the past, but of recent years there has been a slackening in the number of young men and women who could be used. Now we see clearly that these are days for advance and not for retreat. If we can spend from 30 to 50 billions for purposes of war, we must increase, greatly increase, our expenditures for peace. The alternative is capitulation, but Christian students do not think in those terms. *Onward and Upward* is the watchword. Write your mission board and tell them of your desire to give your life, voluntarily, for God's cause and in the service of humanity.

War, among other things, is action. But it is action that leads to devastation, ghastly destruction, broken bodies and minds, the total disruption of the lives and plans of men.

Peace, among other things, is often inaction; but *it can be action that is in harmony with the will of God.* It can be action that will lead to restoration, to reconciliation, to reconstruction. It can be action which leads to life for the many which will be richer than they have ever known. It can be action which will help men to discover each other and lead them to God.

The concern of this article is also a concern of Christian students. It received definite affirmative action at the National Intercollegiate Christian Council meeting in September. (*Refer to the resolution on Post-War Reconstruction*). It is, fortunately, the concern of a very representative cooperating committee which is trying to coordinate and channel the many experiments in the field of Christian reconstruction. This committee would like to know what you are thinking and doing to wage peace vigorously on and off the campus; and how it can help your efforts. (The Editor will see that your letter gets to its right destination.)

Russell in *Los Angeles Times*



Technique for Living

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T. Z. KOO

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THE heavenly host once sang praise to God in these joyous words:

> Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.

As I look at our world today I realize what a sorry spectacle it must look in the eyes of God. Instead of the angelic song, the world of men reminds me vividly of the sayings of some of the Old Testament prophets in the Bible:

> Proclaim ye this among the nations; prepare war; stir up the mighty men; let all the men of war draw near; let them come up. Beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears: let the weak say, I am strong (Joel 3:9, 10).

> Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, profaning the covenant of our fathers? (Malachi 2:10).

The acid test of successful human living is in knowing how to live in peace and good will with our fellow men.

In the days of our forefathers, "getting along with our fellow men" was relatively simple. It rarely meant more than the men in one's own immediate neighborhood. But science has changed all of this. It has made the world so small, that the entire world is now like one community. To live with our fellow men in this new setting calls for a new spirit and a new technique, which few have yet acquired.

Both history and the Word of God point clearly to a movement in human life away from brute force to a reign of law and justice, and emerging finally in a world community established upon love and brotherhood. Today's world crisis is at once a judgment upon man for his failure to live as God intended him to live—in peace and good will—and a call to repentance and to give himself to God for the work of his kingdom on earth.

Meaning "Peace"

But, to answer such a call, we need to prepare ourselves in a number of ways. First, we must clarify in our own thinking the positive meaning of peace on earth. May I illustrate the positive meaning of peace on earth by using the three characters which form the Chinese words for peace. They are "Ho," "An," and "Ping." (See illustrations, above.)

Chinese characters are not spelled with an alphabet. They are made with signs and ideas. The first word for peace—"Ho"—is made up of two signs. The sign on the left means "rice." The sign on the right means "mouth." When there is rice in the mouth, there is peace. Today we would say "the economic basis of peace." But, in the days when this word was coined, the Chinese people had not acquired such high-sounding phrases, and so the simple imagery of "rice in the mouth" makes one of the words for peace.

When one group within a nation is abnormally rich, and the masses have no rice in their mouths, the economic basis of national peace is lacking. When some nations are starved for raw materials, and others have a monopoly of them, the economic basis of international peace is absent.

The second word for peace—"An"—is also composed of two signs: the sign on the top means a roof"; the sign underneath means a "woman." Some facetious wag has said that, when there is only one woman under the roof, there is peace. But "a woman under a roof" really means a person who has a home, a place, and a function in society. These

are symbols of security. When a person has them, there is peace. So "woman under a roof" stands for the social conditions of peace. When conditions within a nation produce unemployment, poverty, class inequalities, that nation lacks the social conditions for peace. When a nation like Germany demands "a place in the sun," she is demanding a roof over her national head. Until nations, big and little, feel that they each have a place and future in the family of nations, there will be no peace between them, although there may not be actual war.

The third word for peace is—"Ping." This word is also formed of two signs. The two horizontal lines form the sign for the numeral "two." The other sign means a "heart." The idea underlying this word is that, when two hearts are level with each other, you have another condition for peace. When one nation harbors ill will against another nation, or feels endangered by it, their hearts are not level with each other. They are not at peace, although they may not be at war.

This word "Ping," for peace, comes nearest to the peace referred to by Jesus when he said to his disciples. "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you," the peace of the inner heart founded upon trust in God and love to fellow men.

To work for peace in the sense expressed in these three Chinese words is just as important—and perhaps even more positive— as merely to oppose a conscription law or to refuse to fight when war is declared.

Goodwill—Fact or Ideal?

We must gain for ourselves a fresh understanding of the meanings of good will, not as the world understands the term, but as Christ would have us understand it.

Good will as the world understands it starts from a fact of separateness—the separateness of self-contained individuals and national states. At the very beginning of the Bible, "Am I my brother's keeper?" was the reply of Cain to God. Across the ramparts of self-interest and national considerations, we look at our fellow men and try to be friendly in a sentimental way, as long as it does not cost us anything. This the world calls good will.

Good will as Christ would have us understand it, starts from a point of oneness—the oneness of our common humanity as children of the one Father who is in heaven. Good will, founded upon this oneness, recognizes no barriers of class, nationality, or race.

Good will as the world understands it is regarded, not as a present fact, but as an ideal, an aspiration yet to be realized.

Good will as Christ would have us understand it is not a distant ideal but a present fact—a reality already here, born not of man's sentimental aspiration, but founded upon the love of God. In the Bible we read, "And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also." Good will grounded upon this love cannot be broken by war. It recognizes a fellowship with other men which transcends race and nationality, and lives on through wars and conflicts. The continuing fellowship between the Christian students of China and Japan through three years of war, expressed through the observance of a common day of prayer for the two countries, is a demonstration of good will, not as the world understands the term, but as Christ would have us understand it.

Here and Now

Good will as Christ would have us understand it takes up the responsibilities of being good neighbors here and now. It is the men and women who understand this kind of good will who are giving meat to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, shelter to the stranger, clothing to the naked, and succor to the sick and to those in prison. They are the blessed of the Father, citizens already of the City of God, weavers of the new pattern of human relationships in which "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying; neither shall there be any more pain."

Science has made the world small for man. Religion must make man big in good will, if this involuntary proximity of man with his fellow-men is not to become a source of danger. In a small world our racialisms, our strident nationalisms, our social and economic exploitations become more terrible, because they engulf wider areas and more people. In such a world, when men forget to love the God whom they have not seen and the brother whom they have seen, the consequences of such forgetfulness are swift and catastrophic. In such a world good will as the world understands it has little or no meaning. Only good will as Christ would have us understand it can furnish the basis and spirit for the healing of human relationships torn and embittered by strife and destruction. Again, the words of the Bible echo in our ears: "He that loveth not his brother abideth in death." But we also know "that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren." We, who have come out of the Far East with the experience of three years of cruel warfare behind us would like to say to our fellow-Christians in America, "Take heed of these words while there is yet time for you."

Lastly, in this sphere of man and his fellow men, we as Christians have a great contribution to make, especially at this time, if we can keep intact the integrity of our Christian faith. In times of conflict we so easily allow specious thinking and emotional bias to destroy the integrity of our faith.

We divide our religion into pockets. In one we place God and our enemy; in another, we place God

(*Turn to page 67*)

Can the Church in Europe Survive?

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ROBERT C. MACKIE

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LAST summer in Lisbon I wrote a letter in which I said: "There is just a chance that the things we care about may survive these tragic days." The other day I came upon that sentence, in quotation marks, at the head of an article in the British *Student Movement*. My friend to whom the letter had been written had turned the idea to good account and had written a vigorous article.

But now the sentence seems to me to have a curriously false ring. I find myself wondering whether I was too "worked up" then by events which I had seen and felt; or whether I am too "calmed down" now by distance from war, and the enervating standards of comfort on this American continent. I believe the mischief is in the words, "we care about"—a silly phrase. The trouble is that we insist on taking a proprietary interest in the achievements of man's mind and heart. We like to feel that our enthusiasm for them makes them in some way more valuable. We think patronizingly about culture, and democracy, and kindly human intercourse—and, God forgive us, Christianity. But here perhaps I am being too hard on myself. I may have written sententiously of the possible destruction of the things we care about, and perhaps considered Christian fellowship among students one of these; but I never had any hesitation about Christianity. Indeed, as I left Europe last August, with the shadows lengthening and the winter of the spirit closing in, I felt that the one thing which certainly would survive was Christianity. I had seen it survive so markedly in a time of fear, and bad faith, of oppression and hypocrisy. Let me give just two examples:

Survival Values

In my memories of France in June 1940 there will always stand out the figure of a French business man. His black suit, his city hat and shoes, made him a slightly ridiculous figure as he trudged the dusty road amid a rabble of fleeing soldiers and refugees. To add to the absurdity, he carried strapped on his back the remains of his wife's hat-box, out of which their necessary possessions bulged. He made himself known to me by the odd greeting "It's a long, long way to Tipperary!"—and the remark was accompanied by a humorous twinkle in the eyes. That man became our best friend for three weeks: he represented to us the one stable element in a situation which had got thoroughly out of hand. And one day I discovered his secret. He explained that he had mislaid his Catholic prayer-book during a rapid adjustment of his baggage in a railway station from which we had all been ejected at two or three moments' notice. I sympathized with him, but he astonished me by saying, "I am going back to look for it; it had some markings and notes which I prize." I shall not readily forget that indomitable figure as he set out to walk ten miles back on a road on which German troops were advancing, to fetch a prayer book. It scarcely surprised me when in the evening he returned, explaining radiantly, "I found it! The military had closed the station but I found a way in, and there was my prayer-book underneath a seat."

I saw the survival value of Christianity in another railway station, this time in Spain. The agent of a Bible Society might not be regarded as a remarkable person, but the romance of the Bible in Spain did not end with George Borrow. I met this man first in a café, where we sat and talked about the Spanish war and the European war. Without emotion he remarked, "I hope the people of London will realize that waiting for bombs is worse than being bombed. The siege of

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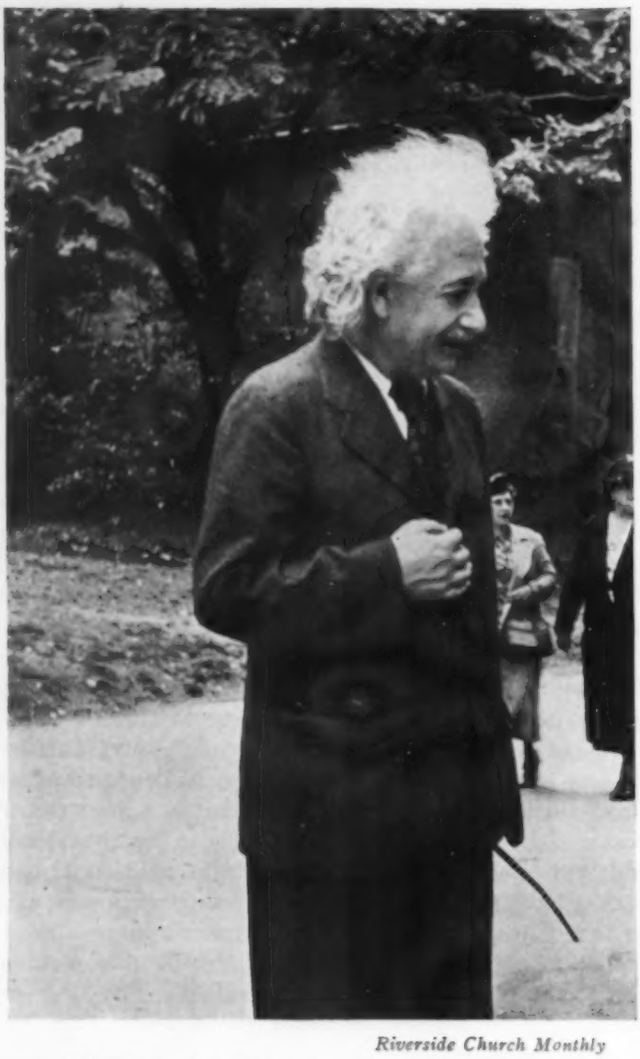
"FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIANITY"

The churches owe an immense debt (which they have not too generously repaid) to the World Student Christian Federation, with its vision of students gathered from all lands in a great interdenominational fellowship as Christian leaders and servants of their own people. It has been the pioneer in this kind. Many of those who are doing big things for the Kingdom of Christ among the nations, many of those who are giving effective leadership to the cause of Christian reunion, have been trained by the British Student Christian Movement of the World's Student Christian Federation. The latter was almost the only religious organization which preserved its international contacts during the fury of the world war; and it did a work of outstanding value in reconstruction and reconciliation in the wild, embittered years that succeeded it. It has stood for an international Christianity when even the churches had become nationalist. That conviction is now part of a common legacy.

F. R. BARRY

in *The Relevance of the Church*



Riverside Church Monthly

Dr. Einstein takes a turn in Central Park, New York City.

Dr. Einstein Makes a Discovery

Albert Einstein, one of the most gifted men in the history of science, has expressed this significant opinion:

"When the revolution came in Germany, I looked to the universities to defend freedom of speech, knowing that they had always boasted of their devotion to the cause of truth, but, no, the universities immediately were silenced. Then I looked to the great editors of the newspapers whose flaming editorials in days gone by had proclaimed their love of freedom; but they, like the universities, were silenced in a few short weeks. Then I looked to the individual writers, who, as literary guides of Germany, had written much and often concerning the place of freedom in modern life; but they, too, were mute. Only the Church stood squarely across the path of Hitler's campaign for suppressing truth. I never had any special interest in the Church before, but now I feel a great affection and admiration because the Church alone has had the courage and persistence to stand for intellectual truth and moral freedom. I am forced to confess that what I once despised I now praise unreservedly."

From *Metropolitan Church Life.*

THE CHURCH IN EUROPE

(*From page* 65)

Madrid never really interfered with my work. You can always sell the Bible." As our train left the station this undaunted Christian, who lost two sons in the civil war, climbed on to the step and shouted in my ear, "Tell my friends that I shall carry on. Spain needs the Bible." The last news of the possibilities of his work are discouraging, but have no doubt that, if he can no longer sell the Bible, he has much of it by heart to preach.

Secret of Survival

Let me turn to our more immediate fellowship in the World's Student Christian Federation. I recently received from Germany a postcard message which referred to words of Paul in his second letter to the Christians in Corinth. Here they are: "We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down but not destroyed." Christianity must often have looked as if it would not survive then; it often looks as if it would not survive now. But it does. And the secret is found in a preceding statement of Paul's. "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord." It never occurred to Paul, nor would it ever occur to my friend in Germany, that men alone could insure that Christianity would survive. That particular responsibility does not wholly rest with us. God who sent his Son into the world at a pretty desperate time to die upon a cross, is not likely to be dismayed by events today. God has always laid hold of men and brought them into his own company; it is not likely that he can be permanently hindered by the false systems of life which men erect. One of my French friends said to me last Spring, "Am I in the hands of God, or am I in the hands of Hitler? The question answers itself." If it is not so answered for you, then nothing I can say will calm your concern lest Christianity perish. Happily, the survival of Christianity depends, not upon the class of '41 but upon God Almighty, and upon those in every land whom he never fails to call to his allegiance.

And this, I hear someone say, "is pietism, or quietism. These European people of whom you speak are in a funk and believe that sort of thing, to make up for not taking social action. Meanwhile Christianity is losing out in Europe, and—" yes, I think you ought to go through with it—"young, eager, active American Christians will be needed to replace it." Well, I fancy that a lot of Christians on the European Continent have had the stuffing knocked out of them. They have been through some pretty shattering experiences. (I should hate to imagine their effect upon the Christians on some campuses I have visited!) But there are other Christians who have had stuffing knocked into them. I spoke to a group the other day about the Latvian Christian students who banded themselves into a fellowship of prayer before their movement was prohibited. Someone came up afterwards and said, "Are Christians in Europe content with saying their prayers?" No one

who really prays is ever "content" with praying. I mentioned some very courageous instances of social and political action in situations where my questioner had not looked for them. But I know that I did not carry conviction because he could not see the nature of the greatest danger which Christianity runs, and the only basis on which it can survive.

I read today of how a great bridge in the State of Washington has been blown away, happily without the loss of human lives. It was a new bridge. Doubtless it had been carefully planned to serve the needs of the neighborhood; smoothly paved, adapted for fast traffic —but unfortunately it was structurally weak and could not stand against the wind. And so it was no good, no good at all; and it is really a blessing that it crashed. Much that we call Christianity is like that bridge—apparently useful, but unable to resist strain. Christianity in Europe may not seem very effective or able to get far anywhere. The traffic may be much slowed up these days and the facilities for travel inadequate. But when the winds are high it is the strength of the structure that counts. Indeed it is the only guarantee of survival. "And, having done all, to stand" is not a bad motto for a bridge. It does not mean that you do not care about its function; it simply means that you know its function depends upon its existence. The same is true of Christianity. Much that we call by that name will not survive because the people who are its exponents do not really believe in God. On the other hand, there are men and women who place their confidence in God, and in them. whatever may be the limitations of their vision or environment, Christianity will survive.

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TECHNIQUE FOR LIVING

(*From page* 64)

and our own people. I speak of this because I have done it myself in connection with Japan in the undeclared war. I place God and the Japanese in one pocket, and I see a God of wrath and stern justice towering over the wicked Japanese, poised to punish. But I do not place my own people in that pocket. When I think of my own people I see a God of loving-kindness and mercy. But I carefully exclude the Japanese from this pocket of my religion. When I do this, I have lost the integrity of my Christian faith and I have no message for a world at war.

Only by disciplining myself can I preserve the integrity of my faith. When I see my God as a God of love and mercy, I must be willing to see that same love and mercy brooding not only over my people, but also over the people of Japan. Faith of this kind drives hatred and bitterness out of my heart, and makes me realize the enemy is still a brother to me.

By holding fast to the integrity of our faith, we are laying the spiritual groundwork for the new world order after the war.

A NEW YEAR'S PRAYER

O Thou Who holdest our times in Thy hand,
Who presidest over the destinies of men and of nations;
We bless Thee for the gift of life itself
And the daily allotment of time for our appointed task.

As we face the fresh, new year,
Help us to wipe out the ancient grudge,
Old bitterness of soul,
Resentments we have nourished as a virtue,
Prejudices jealously guarded,
Fixed opinions based on hearsay,
Easy ways of self-approval,
Tendencies to scorn another's effort,
Ways of life and work and thought
Which have halted the generous hands of love
And hid Thy face from us.

Lord, in these bright morrows
Grant us no respite from sacrifice,
No release from labor,
No shelter from hard enigmas.

We pray for a valiant spirit,
For a clear mind,
Ready hands and feet,
Courage to bear evil we cannot change,
Eagerness to redeem suffering, pain and loss.
We would hate injustice to men and to groups,
All that which loveth and maketh a lie.
And we pray that thou wilt use us
To help bring to birth
Thy plan for us.
We would serve Thee with a true
And loyal heart;
Through Jesus Christ; Our Lord.

—GEORGE STEWART

IN A WORLD ON FIRE we no longer have time to condemn one another for our differences of method. The task of establishing a creative peace is so great that it calls for all our methods of approach. And all these methods need to be used at their highest effectiveness. If one believes that prayer is the only solution for the problems we face, life demands that he go to his knees and pay the price of praying. If he believes in the use of physical force, he must seek to purge it of recrimination and of hate. If he can use only spiritual force he must purge it if negativism and of pride. He must redouble his efforts toward the goal, not of peace but of the Kingdom of God. He must set himself to see under what conditions that goal is attainable. So long as inequalities among human beings exist, so long as deprivations and frustrations are the lot of his fellows, the infection of war and revolution are in the social organism. To treat the symptoms without dealing with the causes is inevitably to spread the area of the infection. Only so far as peace is integrally related to the progressive fulfillment of the basic needs of all human beings is it a sound goal of endeavor.

—GRACE LOUCKS ELLIOTT
in *Womans Press*

LIMA CONGRESS. The first Latin American Evangelical Youth Congress is to be held the first week of February, 1941, at Lima, Peru. The gathering will represent the first outward expression of what has been smoldering in Latin America for several years, a genuine youth movement among Protestant Christians. Youth movements under church auspices have not been smiled upon in South America. Efforts have been scattered and weak; but the rise of a spontaneous movement has been felt in recent years in Brazil, Peru, Chile, Mexico and the countries of the River Platte. It is this movement which will be crystallized in the Lima meeting in February.

UNIVERSITIES CLOSED. By official decree of the German military all universities in Paris were closed in November and M. Roussy was dismissed from the rectorship of the University of Paris. The order followed an Armistice Day demonstration leading to a clash which resulted in many arrests, including 90 junior college and 14 university students. Reports indicate the probable reopening of the University of Paris with the understanding that no further student demonstrations will be tolerated.

The famous old University of Copenhagen has been closed, declares a cable received in New York from Copenhagen. The reason given is lack of coal for heating during the winter.

RELIEF FUNDS OPEN UNIVERSITY. When Polish, French and Belgian soldiers poured into Switzerland after the collapse of France last June, hundreds of students were among them. On the first of November some 500 of these students began work in the new Internee University, organized by the European Student Relief Committee. It is a strange university! Organized in Switzerland, not one of the students is Swiss. The college "halls" are six military camps, a hundred miles apart. Courses and lectures on the university level are given regularly, to be continued "for the duration." Books are also sent into these camps, materials are furnished for study groups, and help given through personal visits. (Your gifts to the *World Student Service Fund* make possible the work of ESRC and similar agencies which are organizing relief work for students in Europe and in Asia.)

NEWS OF THE BRITISH S.C.M. All London universities are closed but at Liverpool, Newcastle and Birmingham, college work goes on "as usual." When W. D. L. Greer, General Secretary, returned to his London home after a staff reading party at Oxford, he found all the windows gone "and a pretty awful mess. The lollipop had fallen twenty feet from the front door." The Student Movement House, famed rendezvous for student visitors from many lands, is reported by a visitor to be "even at this intensely nationalistic moment, more like a world fellowship than was the League of Nations in its heyday." S.C.M. headquarters have been moved from Annandale in London, to Moel Llys, Kirby Muxloe, Leicester (yes, quite a mouthful.) "Meanwhile, Annandale goes on. We plan to have a wee office there."

"This bombing," continues Mr. Greer, "is in some ways good for us. It makes one realize what the security of modern society blinds one to the precariousness of human life. Death is something which may come tonight—not just twenty or forty years hence. These last few weeks there has been so much pressure that I have found it both harder and easier to pray. Harder to pray out beyond oneself and one's own immediate interests, but easier to thank God when one sees the welcome light of morning."

COs INCREASE. British FOR reports that its membership, a year after Britain's entry into the war, stands at a long-time high—13,000. While there were some 250 war-time resignations, the report states that every age group and every section of the country is represented in the increase, which officials say has been largely spontaneous.

NEW LEADERS FOR CHINA. The Student Y.M.C.A. in China has added four new local secretaries to its staff to serve in isolated university centers in the interior. They hope soon to secure a fifth. The Presbyterian, Congregational and Episcopal churches have made appropriations to help make possible these staff additions. During the autumn a team of two have carried forward the evangelistic work of the Youth and Religion Campaign in the northwestern area of China.

Federation group at Poughkeepsie
(How many do you know?)

FEDERATION LEADERS' MEETINGS. At Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and Kandy, Ceylon, in late December, Robert Mackie and Helen Morton chaired respectively the two major Federation meetings of this winter. In both places leaders of several different S.C.M.'s met to clarify the major tasks and responsibilities of our world-wide movement in the present hour, and to plan ways of strengthening the foundations of the work in the period ahead. After conducting with D. T. Niles of Ceylon a mission for two months in colleges throughout India, T. Z. Koo joined Helen Morton in the leadership of the Kandy meeting, with our other Vice-Chairman, Kiang Wen Han of China. The Poughkeepsie meeting was composed primarily of delegates from the Canadian and American Movements and Church groups, but included also representatives of the British, Japanese, Chinese, German and South American Movements.

SINGLE CHURCH FOR JAPAN. From Tokyo October 17 came the formal announcement of a National Christian Church retaining certain sectarian differences and entirely under Japanese direction and control. The new church embraces Presbyterians, including the Reformed Church; Methodists, including the United Church of Canada; Congregationalists, including the Evangelical, United Brethren and Disciples, and Baptists, Lutherans and Holiness denominations. Greek Catholics are included in the new organization, but not Roman Catholics. The Episcopal Church is the only major Protestant church not at present included.

Whether churches will be able to function outside of the framework of the new church is not known at present. The National Church program stipulates the cessation of foreign financial assistance and places schools, hospitals and social workers entirely in Japanese hands. Missionaries legally are permitted to remain in Japan, but Bishop Ave said, "many conscientiously felt it is difficult to continue work under the new organization." A preparatory committee composed of eighty-five representatives of the various denominations, all Japanese, was appointed to elect a head, choose a name for the church and formulate a creed.

It Doesn't Make Sense

We're being "altruistic" again. Just loaned China one hundred million dollars. Naturally we have ample security and the fact that China's shipments of tungsten, tin, wood, oil, (etc.), materials vital to our national economy, are ahead of schedule *may* have had some influence upon this loan. Then too, maybe—just maybe —in return for this favor to him, we've asked Chiang Kai Shek to begin a spring offensive against the Japanese divisions in China in order to keep them from swinging southward to areas which would inconvenience America.

Ungrateful of the Japanese to turn toward the Indies and cause us trouble. Ungrateful of foreign minister Matsuoko to be so belligerent about recent affairs. And most ungrateful of Japan to line up with Italy and Germany as an implied threat to us. Ungrateful! After we've been supplying them with almost ninety percent of their war materials for all these years. Don't they realize that they're forcing us to evacuate our women and children on the return trip of the same ships which bring them the war materials they want? Don't they see that we're being forced to build a "two ocean" navy which might become involved in a war against their navy which is built of American steel, powered by American petroleum, shooting American iron from American copper casings tooled by American machines and filled with explosives made with American cotton. Don't they see how ridiculous that is?

Or perhaps we're the ones who should take stock of our position. Perhaps we might stop sending these war materials to Japan. Having said again and again that China has right and justice on her side, that she is struggling for democracy, and finally having begun to realize that Japan is definitely lined up with the fascist powers, maybe we should stop sending help to Japan.

A government usually operates on no higher plane than that of self interest, but how can it be to our self interest to strengthen a powerful and belligerent group determined to have military and economic control in the Pacific? How can it be to our self interest to aid in the aggression against a gallant and friendly democracy? Somehow it doesn't make sense.

PAUL MORITZ

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GERMANS AID DANES. A report from the International Missionary Council states that the German missionaries in Palestine, who had been allowed in a number of cases to carry on their work, have contributed from their humble resources to the work of the Danish missionaries stranded in Syria. The situation of these missionaries, suddenly cut off from former sources of support, is desperate. The deaconesses in the German hospital in Jerusalem made a special contribution to be added to the collections at Sunday services, and so made up a gift of $100 for the Danish Mission.

Working for Peace
IN A WORLD AT WAR

A Program Paper for Local Peace Groups

DAVID S. BURGESS

The Peace Commission Chairman studies, too.

In the world today millions of youths are under arms. Conscription, the huge defense program, the mounting hysteria, the immediate threat of America's involvement in war—these have made it imperative for Christian students to accept their responsibilities: to preserve and extend democracy in America; to make America a vital force for that international justice, that social and economic well-being, that mutual respect among peoples and nations which we should mean when we say "peace." While within our student Associations there are divergent views on what this means in immediate action, we are convinced as a Movement that Christian students of differing viewpoints can and must work together:

a) To clarify the grounds of our Christian unity and disunity;
b) To explore and deal with the fundamental causes which result in world conflicts;
c) To find constructive measures (student relief; Christian reconstruction projects) on which all can work;
d) To work together on a broad program of peace education and action for the campus as a whole;
e) To encourage wider groups within our membership to "pioneer" fearlessly in the direction of their own deepest convictions.

Every live Christian Association this year must have a carefully selected and representative committee working on peace education and action. Study of the "Peace Actions of the N.I.C.C." at Lake Geneva should be a requirement for membership in this group. The suggestions which follow are intended as a basis for a year-round program—and immediate action. They should, of course, be adapted to the situation on your own campus.

What Your Peace Committee Can Do

1. *Form small groups for study, prayer and action.* The C. A. Cabinet should give several of its own and other regular Association meetings to the questions related to a just peace.

2. *Aim for campus-wide interest* in peace problems and action; make personal contacts; sponsor speakers; plan discussions; conduct and publicize polls on international questions; get the help of professors and ministers; plan campus-wide meetings and demonstrations on April Peace Day, Armistice Day, Special Sundays.

3. *Dig deep into underlying causes of war:* economic injustice, nationalism, race tensions, etc., and the fundamental basis of any lasting peace.

4. *Act to preserve civil liberties* for all campus groups, for conscientious objectors and other minorities.

5. *Write personal letters*—to your congressmen; to your campus and local papers—expressing your opinions on urgent issues, national and international.

6. *Follow campus draftees* with friendly letters and helpful service as they go to camp.

7. *Demonstrate* world brotherhood by sharing adequately in the World Student Service Fund.

8. *Dramatize* your program through: plays, radio programs, speakers, movies, literature, exhibits, sponsoring of refugee students, etc.

9. *Send deputations* to nearby colleges, high schools and churches to speak on "What Students Can Do To Help Create a More Christian World."

10. *Sponsor* social reconstruction projects in the college community; social service in a slum-center.

11. *Plan campus-wide meetings* and demonstrations where these fit into your own year-round plan and policies.

12. *Cooperate with student organizations* on your campus and other campuses and with *community peace groups,* provided their aims are similar to those of your group. Exchange speakers. Send delegates to intercollegiate conferences. Cooperate with your student council, local church groups and the regional peace commission. Form a campus peace council.

13. *Enlist (now!) students for summer work* in projects of social reconstruction—*e. g.,* work camps of various kinds, peace service under the Quakers, etc.

14. *In the Spring, outline next year's program.* In the meantime, start immediately an intensive program of thought, discussion, education and action.

For practical suggestions and helpful material consult: *The Intercollegian* and Bulletins of the Peace Commission, or write to the Chairman of the Peace Commission with description of your program or requests for suggestions and cooperation. Address: David S. Burgess, Chairman, Peace Commission, 347 Madison Avenue, Room 606, New York City.

Emergency in Yenan—

From China comes an emergency appeal for a sanitarium in Yenan. Sickness is rife in the university there, and all the funds are available to build a hospital if $200 per month operating expenses can be underwritten. That figures up to $1.33 per patient per month! If an American college or group of colleges would like to undertake this as a project the Editors will supply full details.

On the News Front

WSSF Progress

Reports are pouring in of goals set and money collected for the World Student Service Fund. New York State leads the regional list with an announced $20,000 goal and a statewide committee of faculty and students to raise it. The New England Region is pledged to bring in $15,000, and the North Central area is set for $5,000. This leaves many regions unreporting.

In the lead among colleges is Smith in Massachusetts which has raised $7,000 (Smith has a mere 2,000 population). Amherst among the men's colleges reports $900, and Oberlin has actually sent in $775. Colgate is campaigning for $750. Among future campaigns, Cornell is going after $1,500; Skidmore, Rochester University, and Columbia University in New York are aiming at $1,000 each.

The Michigan Case

The charge of subterranean connections 'twixt Detroit and Ann Arbor fly thick and fast. Denials and claims of libel fly just as fast. Whether the American Student Union and Dr. Ruthven' office or either one is wholly right or wrong remains to be seen. In the meantime the controversy constitutes a good example of the kind of *cause celebre* about which all colleges and all student organizations need to keep their wits. Academic freedom is too precious a possession to have endangered, especially at a time like the present when the lamps of free discussion should be burning more brightly than ever. The American Student Union would have the public believe that they are the protectors of student liberty at Michigan and that they are marked for martyrdom. These columns hold no brief for the A.S.U. or for the administration.

Storm Over Highlander

Highlander Folk School, nestled in the hills of Southeastern Tennessee, has been the storm center during the past two months of a hot battle for academic freedom. It concerns the efforts of the local "Grundy County Crusaders" to force the school out on the grounds of "subversive teachings" and "un-Americanism."

The Folk School, founded on its present site in 1932, has been for eight years a successful training center for leadership in organized labor problems, collective bargaining techniques and community welfare. Opposition to the school has kept pace with acute labor controversies throughout the south and high feeling culminated on November 12 in a mass meeting to condemn the school. The meeting was to be followed by a march to the grounds to demand that the school move out of Grundy County. But the march did not eventuate. Pressure from state officials, and by national leaders interested in the Folk School, forced the Crusaders to content themselves with appointing a committee from their mass meeting to present their demands to the school.

Immediately following the meeting, instead of the scheduled march the Crusader Committee met with the Folk School faculty "on neutral ground" at Sewanee, Tennessee, to engage in a tense five-hour debate in which accusations of "communistic teachings" and "fostering ideals and activities detrimental to the county and the democratic form of government" were freely made and refuted. James Dombrowski, head of the School's faculty, stated that if any of such charges against it were proved, the school would end its operations voluntarily.

The conference ended on a quieter tone. The two groups agreed to meet again to discuss the institution's relation and possible benefits to the county. Crusader President Alvin Henderson, local bank cashier, also promised to learn more about its program. At present, however, the Grundy Countians are carrying their fight to the State Legislature, and have announced that they have documentary evidence to back their accusations despite the refutations offered by the school.

The Highlander sponsors and faculty meanwhile took steps to raise funds for legal emergencies, and for the growing needs of the school. A benefit was held in Washington, D. C., on December 6 featuring prominent sponsors headed by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and including Sidney Hillman, Mrs. Cordell Hull, Justice Hugo Black, Commissioner of Education J. W. Studebaker, Gifford Pinchot, Mrs. Harold Ickes, and others.

Evidence from the meeting of November 12-13 seems to show that the true objections to Highlander by Grundy citizens are on issues other than un-American. Chief among the specific charges was that of the School's cooperation in the making of "People of the Cumberlands," a film revealing the poverty and squalor prevalent in that area. The Crusaders objected also to the faculty's entrance into a 1938 county election, which action was defended as breaking the political control of the Tennessee Consolidated Coal Co. At this point, C. H. Kilby, organizer and secretary of the Crusaders, spoke in defence of the coal company, of which he is an official. The company controls coal mines where a struggle of many years has been going on over unionization.

Worker-Students enjoying the peace and beauty of the mountains. These four, who attended the fall term at Highlander, stop at "Eagle's Cliff," a few miles from the school, to have a look at the valley below.

New Consumer's League

A new league of college consumers cooperatives has taken its place in midwestern university life. In November representatives from seven campuses west of the Mississippi met at North Kansas City, Missouri, and elected a board of directors to draft a constitution for a Central League of Campus Co-ops, to include members in thirteen states throughout the Middle West. Donald Richardson of Fargo, N. D., was elected Chairman of the Board. The purpose of the organization, according to a national co-op news bulletin, will be to "send out information and assistance to all local cooperatives, encourage and assist in the establishment of campus cooperatives, standardize practices in all campus cooperatives along the lines of Rochdale principles, emphasize education in cooperative philosophy, urge students to enter cooperative fields of work, and act as a clearing house for the exchange of ideas and information."

The C.L.C.C. is now one of three regional organizations in the National Committee on Student Cooperatives. The Pacific Coast League and the Midwest Federation of Campus Co-ops also have been founded recently.

Here and There

Lower Voting Age? A possible recommendation to lower the voting age from 21 to 18 is envisioned in a report of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association. The Commission, in investigating what high schools are doing to prepare youth for democracy, recognized a distinct problem in the gap between the age when most youth are turned out from high school and the time that they assume suffrage. Recommendation will not be made until there has been further study of ramifications of the change.

Radio Contest. The American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education is planning a radio series "Youth Speaks for Itself" in which the programs will come from local campus radio workshops dramatizing or otherwise describing some youth self-help project. Any school with a radio workshop is eligible for the competition from which these programs will be chosen. Write to the American Youth Commission of the Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

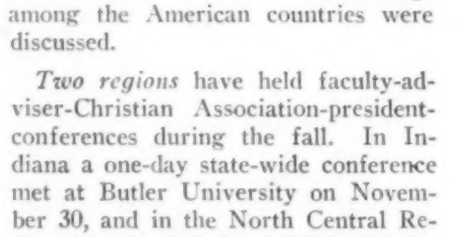
Conferences

Conferences! *The propensity of students to congregate and discuss has been given long leash this fall and winter. Here are just a few reports:*

The Boston Student Christian Council held, on Armistice Day, a round table on Peace Education and Action, coming out with a program for local campus groups which is very similar to the Program Paper on peace presented elsewhere in this issue. The Round Table emphasized cooperation with other campus groups, alleviation of suffering through relief or welfare work among refugees, and formation of small peace "cells" for relief work, discussion and action.

Pan-American students attending Michigan colleges met at Olivet College December 14-15 to discuss the promotion of friendlier relations and closer cooperation among the Americas with official representatives of Latin American nations participating in the program. Possibilities of more exchange scholarships, the calling of similar conferences in South American universities, a summer school of Pan-American relations in Michigan and increased cultural interchange among the American countries were discussed.

Two regions have held faculty-adviser-Christian Association-president-conferences during the fall. In Indiana a one-day state-wide conference met at Butler University on November 30, and in the North Central Region a series is being held during the fall and winter to bring about closer fellowship among staff members and students and to tackle problems which face all Associations in that area.



"Him? He's the black sheet of our family."

The fourth national Youth Anti-War Congress is beginning (as this is written) four days of sessions in Madison, Wisconsin. The sponsors are the Youth Committee Against War whose headquarters are located at 22 E. 17th Street, New York.

A Joint Conference is convening (also as the INTERCOLLEGIAN goes to press) by the International Student Service and the National Student Federation of America, in New Brunswick, New Jersey. To this, students from all over the United States, especially including college government executives, are meeting to discuss "How Youth Can Serve Democracy" and "The Role of Student Government"—of which more news in our next issue.

Source Material For Program Makers

The Christian Century series (running currently) of forthright articles by ten eminent religious leaders on the topic: "If America Enters the War, What Shall I Do?" Reinhold Niebuhr, Harry E. Fosdick, Francis J. McConnell, and John Haynes Holmes are among the contributors.

The American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression release of November 2 sums up progress and areas for action in relation to our national and foreign policies. Lists points of reference for letters to congressmen on pending legislation. (8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.)

American Civil Liberties Union is supporting a drive for greater leniency in conscientious objector cases. "Attorney General H. Jackson should be urged to establish a uniform policy of dealing with non-registrant conscientious objectors in the courts or after conviction. . . . Sentences have varied from three months to eighteen months because the handling of the various cases has been left to the sole discretion of the local prosecutors and judges." For pertinent data address the union at: 31 Union Square West, New York, N. Y.

An Abstract of the Laws Pertaining to Cooperation (W.P.A. publication) contains abstracts of all cooperative laws for all the United States. Copies on request from: the Director of Research and Clerical Projects, Works Progress Administration, 70 Columbus Avenue, New York City.

College Editors Say—

By CLIP AN' PASTE

An Indictment

Dear Dad: Four years ago I started to college to get a degree in engineering. It wasn't because I thought the world would be better off if I became an engineer. No such ideals You told me that I should be practical when I chose my life's work. I have studied hard and learned a lot about engineering, but damn little about living.

I didn't learn about the Okies, nor the twenty million unemployed. I learned that at the end of the trail there was a pot of gold and all I had to do was make good grades and then sell myself to some company. I learned that the way to get ahead was on the shoulders of the man next to me.

Nobody said, "Think a little about the men around you—have Christian charity—help your fellow men share the prosperity of this mighty nation." But since last June, Dad, I've come to realize those things. All this education, all this technical progress in the world doesn't mean a thing because we haven't learned to live with each other. I'm about to become a part of this great inhuman machine called industry, and I feel down inside that I am being a traitor to the better things in me and in every man.

You call me unpatriotic for my stand against the war. I say to you, Dad, that it is not I but you and your generation which is unpatriotic. It was you who decided to let the world and its troubles shift for themselves after the immediate pressure of the last war was gone. Is it sane to build a house when there is no one left to live in it?—*Purdue Exponent, Purdue University.*

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED in making this Department vitally interesting. When you come upon a significant editorial in your campus newspaper—whatever the viewpoint—clip it and send to the News Editor

CHARLES WEST
Earl Hall Columbia University
New York City

The Hoover Plan

More than once in recent months Herbert Hoover has stated that "as a Christian nation we have no other choice" than to aid the starving peoples of Europe.

We believe that the interests of humanity and the interests of American democracy coincide in this case. It is to the advantage of this country to check famine in Europe. The revolution against Nazism on the continent must be waged by a powerful underground democratic movement organized and equipped by Britain and provisioned by America. Idealism will have to be rekindled in Europe. But idealism cannot flourish among starving people. Americans must give idealism a chance by stopping starvation.

Mr. Hoover's plan is sound. He intends to pay for the aid of suffering Europe by releasing the frozen assets of the conquered countries in the United States. As a result he is able to predict just how far the resources on hand will go and he can conduct his feeding of the peoples across the sea on a sound business basis.—*Daily Princetonian.*

Aiding the Allies

Today in Europe England is fighting not for economic dominance or imperialism but for her life. The war itself has changed. It no longer centers around the justice of the Versailles Treaty. The simple facts of Europe now, entirely separated from all theories of German aggression in this hemisphere or save-America-by-aiding-the-Allies, make it obvious that we want England to win. If she falls, we face across the water a Europe in which Fascism has triumphed, in which fascist ideology has proven itself practical and successful. We could play ball, recognize their methods, trade and live on their terms. We don't particularly want to.

England, hybrid imperialist democracy that she is, is closer to our way of life than Germany. Her victory still remains much the lesser evil. . . . —*Daily Dartmouth.*

Time to Quit

Now is the time to call a halt to our headlong rush into war. To help England further without dedicating a generation to the bloody task of invading Germany would be dishonest. President Roosevelt, if he means to make good on his keep out of war pledge, should throw his weight in favor of the best possible peace with Germany—even a peace leaving Hitler in control of the continent.

Isn't there a tragic irony about going to war to save our markets when within our borders live forty million people, cold, hungry, without hope, These are our market. Here is our destiny.—*Harvard Crimson.*

Those Reporters

Pressed daily by reporters to take a stand regarding the activity of university professors in the civil liberties conference, Governor Phillips at last changed his rather belligerent stand to one of resignation and semi-optimism.

"After all," he said, "it's sort of like a windstorm—it passes on."

The reporters who questioned the Governor each day were after stories. It's in most reporters' blood, that insatiable desire for copy that sometimes leads to unethical tactics. A reporter whose second nature gives him the ability to magnify a trifle into a major incident, can be the "inadvertent" cause of immeasurable injury to an innocent party. He can . . . put two opposing groups into the ring and have them both hanging onto the ropes before he is finished. A part of his misdirected ingenuity is likewise designated as the power of the press.—*Oklahoma Daily.*

Youth Can Choose Peace

To the EDITORS:

Where are the peace programs? Yes, they are still with us, even if it is unpopular to speak of peace in some social rooms, churches, and auditoriums.

Oddly enough, youth organizations agree on many fundamental points of peace action. What do groups like the Fellowship of Reconciliation, The American Youth Congress, The National Intercollegiate Christian Council, The American Student Union, and The Youth Committee against War have in common? Plenty! Their peace programs agree much more than they clash. Naturally these groups differ fundamentally in many basic attitudes. But the peace movements of America must cease their squabbles, try to overcome personal and group antagonisms, lose the fear of being called Pacifists, Reds, Radicals, Socialists, or Traitors. Let them use their energies to work out formulas for mutual cooperation on *points of common program.* In the face of war we must *act* to find such techniques.

A great responsibility rests upon the leaders and the rank and file of these groups. Compromises must be made, but in each case the group's principles must be preserved. The N.I.C.C. should call a conference of youth leaders to discuss such unity.

We, the youth of America, can choose to unite for peace, or perish in war.

LEONARD DETWEILER
Temple U.

Must Find a Technique

TO THE EDITORS:

The Smith College writers say* truly "The most apparent characteristic of students today is their mental and emotional confusion." The reasons for the dilemma in which students find themselves today are that pacifism has been a static belief; it has not been developed extensively as "a way of life" and has not developed an alternative to the method of force.

Pacifist belief should encompass not only a refusal to participate in war but a practical non-violent resistance technique. Non-violent resistance utilizes the power of spiritual force and love to overcome evil. Students need to explore its potentialities.

As one student to another, may I urge you to wake up—scratch the surface of your pacifist belief, change it from a static doctrine to a living reality and find a possible solution to our present dilemma in non-violent resistance.

MARVIN B. SUSSMAN
New York University

*In *Intercollegian*, November 1940.

Visit to Shanghai

DEAR FRIENDS:

My present breathing space is the Kailan Mining Administration's coaler *Corona,* heading up the Chinese coast.

Just past are five days in Shanghai. Lydia Johnson and Shih Pao Chen unearthed me from great piles of disorganized baggage in the Customs House, and outside was Lyman Hoover with the YMCA car; a most useful affair! We threaded our way through thousands of rickshaws. Shanghai certainly is blood curdling with its barbed wire barricades, tanks at street corners, innumerable soldiers and police, the frequency of murders, the tension which seems as if it might explode at any moment and blow the whole city into a thousand fragments.

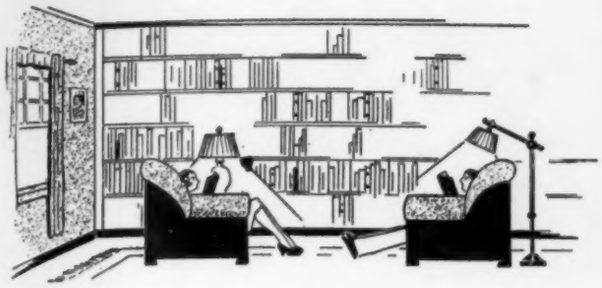
In the five days we had a round of parties and gatherings. A feast with a delectable series of Chinese dishes in the best manner and speeches all around; staff meetings, a Relief Fund meeting; a discussion on international problems; a shy little group at one of the colleges; a very formal lecture meeting at a girl's school; a theatre party; a tea party at T. Z. Koo's home.

And what did I learn about the life of this part of the Federation? I caught a glimpse of the crying need for more leadership, and how this need rests squarely on the Christian community the world round. Here in China, world history has set the stage for one of Christianity's greatest opportunities. Little Christian communities are breaking into life everywhere, but what can they do if they do not have leadership? If the Christian community focusses its energies here in China NOW when the stage is set for tremendous advances, it will be making investments for its own future of incalculable importance.

A conversation with a leader of China who has been at most all the world meetings—Oxford, Madras, Edinburgh, Lausanne—stands out especially. We were discussing the flight from the social gospel and the liberal tradition of the past decades in the USA. When I said how much of a reaction some of us were having against these ideas of our own college days, I seemed to hear the voice of China's Christians speak through him, pleading that we in America keep hold of these convictions of progress, of man's ability, of responsibility for the social side; that it was in the right direction.

As to the Relief Committee, I found it a most efficient, well organized group, equipped both nationally and locally to serve as one of the most important relief organizations of China. When the report was given of conditions in the interior I heard first-hand how to adapt one's daily schedule to a regime of air raids. The hours of work changed to 7 to 10, and 3 to 7, so as to allow for the mid-day schedule of bombings. I love being on my way to Peking, yet hated to be torn away from Shanghai. . . .

HELEN MORTON,
Vice-Chairman, W.S.C.F.
Coast of China



The Book Corner

CHRISTIANITY AND POWER POLITICS. Reinhold Niebuhr; Charles Scribners' Sons. $2.00.

Whether one agrees with everything that Reinhold Niebuhr says is beside the point. The fact remains that whenever he speaks or writes you have a mental work-out. This his latest book is no exception. In fact, although it is something of a "potboiler" in that it is a collection of essays, some religious and some political, many of which have been previously published in British and American journals, *Christianity and Power Politics* contains some of Niebuhr's most cogent thinking.

In a review as brief as this must be, only the flavor of a few of the essays can be passed on. The opening chapter, "Why the Christian Church is not Pacifist," is the best statement of the Christian non-pacifist position this reviewer has seen. It elaborates more clearly than ever Niebuhr's thesis that a classical Christianity recognizes, as modern liberalism (Christian or secular) does not, man's inevitable involvement in sin, the impossibility of his reaching perfection, and the consequent necessity of his making less than perfect decisions in this mundane world. Pacifists must face this statement honestly and non-pacifists need it for the deepening of their own thought. The chapter "The War and American Churches" is almost as good.

The whole book is provocative. Every chapter should form the basis of a most stimulating discussion. To mention only a few: "Greek Tragedy and Modern Politics" is a penetrating study of the political failures of good intentions; "False Answers and Our Unsolved Problems" and "Modern Utopians" are terrific attacks on any but a profound classical Christian solution: and "The Christian Church in a Secular Age" should be read by every church leader, lay or clerical.

As unfortunately is the case with much of Niebuhr's writing, the critical is much more in evidence than the constructive. In this regard the two chapters "Optimism Pessismism and Religious Faith" leave something to be desired although at the end of the second chapter Niebuhr does (too) briefly state a positive position. For the most part, however, the author's positive faith must be determined by trying to understand the point of view of his criticism. In this book this task is made easier than in many of his other books. Many people do not seem to realize that Niebuhr does have a positive faith which has a tremendous contribution to make to our day.

W. B. EASTON

Smith College

CHART FOR ROUGH WATER. Waldo Frank. New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company. $1.75.

FAITH FOR LIVING. Lewis Mumford. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.00.

Our anxieties over the present world revolution are largely confirmed by these two authors, but the contribution which they have to make is, instead, a declaration of faith in the ability of mankind to preserve certain ultimate values out of the crisis.

As Mr. Mumford sees it, our faith in liberalism was sadly betrayed by a kind of "pragmatic liberalism" by which progress, being any step away from the past, was conceived of as automatic, and which lost sight of the noble aims of "ideal liberalism," whose values need again to be declared and fought for. To Waldo Frank, the very basis of human worth has been challenged: "The individual soul, fed and grown great by its awareness of the divine within it, believed it could dispense with the divine." To both authors it is clear that our present difficulty centers about the loss of faith in certain ultimate values.

These values center about the life of the individual. Mr. Mumford prizes highly such commonplaces as the family as a means of fostering individual growth, the discipline of work, the vitalities of religion, the patriotism which has roots in a region and its culture. The personally disciplined man is the chief bulwark against barbarism. Mr. Frank likewise rests his faith in the emergence of man as "person"—"the individual integrated in his cosmos." This is the basis of a ringing declaration of faith in man and in God which is worthy of defense. Mr. Mumford's closing sentences are worth quoting:

"That which alone endures on earth is the spirit in which man understands and meets his fate. . . . The words of Jesus are ultimate in their wisdom: 'He that loseth his life shall find it.' No smaller faith will console us for temporary defeats, sustain us in the hours of despair, or give us the strength to push on to victory."

MARGARET FISHER

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? Harold Laski. Viking Press. $1.75.

Stimulating mixture of sound economic-political analysis, of social idealism, of high emotion, of argument for a new democratic statesmanship—"revolution by consent." The thesis of these three chapters can be stated briefly in the author's own words: "What we are witnessing is the breakdown of a social order which, broadly speaking, has dominated Europe since the French Revolution. . . . Fascist leaders were not statesmen but outlaws. . . . Fascism has no doctrine, but only slogans which give to the actions the leaders propose to take, that basis in popular support they believe it advisable to secure. And the sole purpose of their action is the consolidation of their power. It is a power which has become absolute over their own people and seeks to become absolute over the world; it is the supreme modern example of Acton's

classic dictum that 'absolute power corrupts absolutely.' Fascism is the epitaph upon those forces of privilege which seek to imprison the future by defending with violence an obsolete past. . . . If we are to discover the secret of a victory the results of which we are not to throw away we must use the dramatic opportunity of the common danger, the deep sense of unity it enforces upon us all, to break the power of this (selfish property) mentality now. That is the highroad to the discovery of the dynamic of democracy."

It has a moral for America.

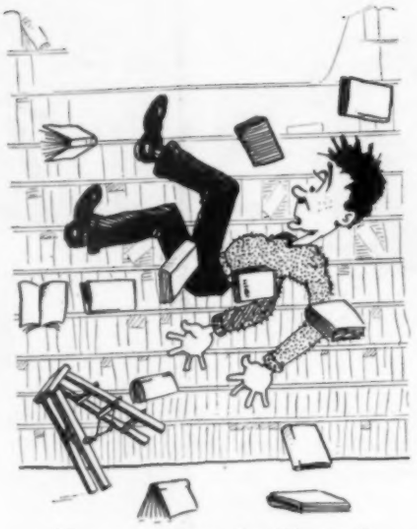
ROLAND ELLIOTT

HOW TO MAKE GOOD IN COLLEGE. Randall B, Hamrick. Association Press. $2.50.

LEARNING TO LIVE, A GUIDEBOOK FOR BEGINNING COLLEGE STUDENTS. Harry E. Tyler (editor). Farrar & Rinehart. $2.25.

These two books are designed to adjust students to college although the first named is for individual student reading and the second is for use in orientation courses. They are both interesting illustrations of the fact that there is a lot to *know* about personal habits if students are to get along in college and that such information can be presented in an interesting and even captivating fashion. We used to think that it was a lot of luck if a student "made good" in college and enjoyed himself at the same time; but it now appears that a great deal depends upon knowing how.

The Hamrick book is as tangy and as slangily illustrated as a pulp story magazine, but it has body and meat too. The illustrations by Charles Harper will keep you from taking yourself too seriously as will such headings as "Having an elegant time!" "Never a drab moment!" "The lure of lucre" "It's your duty sir" and countless others. Never think though that this easy language doesn't conceal some potent thought. Among the special contributing editors you'll find college professors (quite respectable psychologists, student health directors and placement secretaries) rubbing elbows with style experts, civil service commissioners and a Hollywood make-up expert! Sound interesting? It is. (Nor is the reviewer's enthusiasm *too much* colored by the fact that he is one of those listed on the title page!) The chapters cover study habits, health, clothes, financial aids,



"Learn to use the library," advises author Hamrick.

vocational guidance and some easily understood mental hygiene. It's worth good money to any student.

Learning to Live might well have been entitled *Living and Learning*, for the parts of the book are all on various aspects of living—Living in College, Living With Yourself, Living With Your Family, Living With Others, Living in the Community, Living in the World, Learning to Make a Living, Planning Your Future Family Life. It covers a lot of ground and should provide an excellent basis for a class or group discussion. Among the contributors are a junior college president, three deans, and two instructors (two of these are former students of the reviewer; they'd better be good!) These people *know* student problems and their suggestions come straight from the shoulder. This book doubtless is the most comprehensive and informative of any freshman orientation text in print. The style is easy, the illustrations plentiful and in it you'll learn more about yourself than you'll ever learn about chemistry from a freshman chemistry book—and you'll enjoy the experience!

C. GILBERT WRENN
University of Minnesota

"I look forward to an epoch in which a court, recognized by all nations, will settle international differences, instead of keeping large standing armies as they do in Europe."—*Ulysses S. Grant.*

THANK YOU—

Daily Northwestern and *Depauw Boulder* for several clever cartoons contributed by each of you to these pages.—ED.

Who's Who

F. ERNEST JOHNSON is Executive Secretary in the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches.

A. J. MUSTE is Executive Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

FAY BENNETT is Executive Secretary, Youth Committee Against War.

HENRY P. VAN DUSEN is author of *Reality and Religion*—a new Hazen Book.

ROY J. MCCORKEL is Secretary of the Committee on Christian Reconstruction, recently organized under the N.I.C.C.

MARY W. HILLYER is a member of the National Advisory Committee, Keep America Out of War Congress.

ROBERT C. MACKIE is General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation.

DAVID BURGESS, Oberlin '39, is a student in Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

JOHN C. BENNETT is the author of *Christianity and Our World* and other books.

ALLAN HUNTER is pastor of a Hollywood church and author of the stirring *Three Trumpets Sound.*

T. Z. KOO is truly a "citizen of the world."

★

New Pamphlets

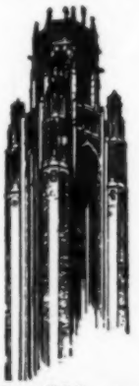
Worship Services for Peace and Brotherhood. Theodore Ainsworth Greene. World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. 5 cents.

Spotlight on the Balkans. P. B. Stoyan. Headline Book. 25c.

Do You Know Labor? James Meyers. National Home Library Foundation. 50c.

Movements for Extension of Medical Care. Information Service (November 23). 10c.

Suggestions In Answering Form 47 (for COs). War Resisters League. 5c.



A WEEK for MINISTERS

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